

LECTURES
ON
PATANJALI'S MAHABHASYA

VOL. I

(Ahnikas 1 to 3)

Second Edition



P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri

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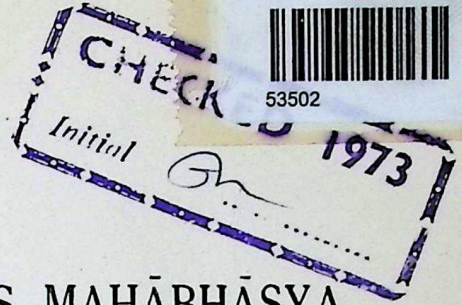
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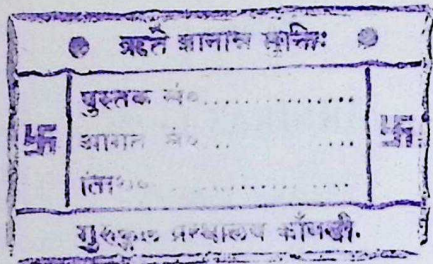
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(*Vidyāratna, Vidyānidhi, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Vāṇī-trivēṇī-prayāga*)



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॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

अष्टाध्यायीप्रणेतारं दाक्षीपुत्रं सुपाणिनिम् ।
वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ॥

चोक्कनाथं मखिवरं भाष्यरत्नावलीकृतम् ।
वेङ्कटाध्वरिणश्शिष्यं रामभद्रगुरुं वरम् ॥

नीलकण्ठं यतिवरं क्षेत्रपालनिवासिनम् ।
अद्वैतमार्गनिष्णातं शब्दशास्त्रमहोदधिम् ॥

वैद्यनाथं द्विजं मित्रं मरूरग्रामनिवासिनम् ।
शब्दशास्त्रप्रवक्तारं गीताद्यर्थप्रकाशकम् ॥

प्रणम्य तान् गुरुन् सर्वान् प्रसन्नमनसाधुना ।
कुर्वे आङ्गलभारत्या महाभाष्यविमर्शनम् ॥



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Tabular Statement showing the number of sūtras in each pāda of Aṣṭādhyāyī, the number of sūtras reviewed by Vārttikakāra or Vārttika-kāras, Bhāṣyakāra etc.

Adhyāya in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī	No. of Pāda	No. of Sūtras	No. of sūtras with the vārttika of one vārttikakāra and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras with the vārttika of more than one vārttikakāra and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras wherein vārttikas are explanatory	No. of sūtras wherein vārttikas amend sūtras	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Vārttikakāra	No. of sūtras with bhāṣya alone	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Bhāṣyakāra	No. of sūtras wherein Bhāṣyakāra defend Sūtrakāra against Vārttikakāra	No. of ānuikas in each pāda	No. of sūtras reviewed in each pāda
I	i	75	52	5	47	4	6	18	-	1	2+7	67
	ii	73	40		36	2	2	14	2	1	3	54
	iii	93	31	1	17	15		10		2	2	42
	iv	110	31		27	4		24	7	1	4	55
II	i	72	27		17	10		19		1	3	46
	ii	38	20		15	5		6			2	26
	iii	73	29	3	13	19		11		6	3	43
	iv	85	31	1	17	15		11		2	2	43
III	i	150	69	4	43	30		16		1	6	89
	ii	188	53	2	25	30		7		5	3	62
	iii	176	49		19	30		9			2	58
	iv	117	19		17	2		10			1	29
IV	i	176	65	1	36	30		21		6	4	87
	ii	145	35		17	18		20	3		2	55
	iii	168	34	1	24	11		6			2	41
	iv	144	12		6	6		7	1		1	19
V	i	136	47		24	23		12	1	1	2	59
	ii	140	42		15	27		20			2	62
	iii	119	33	1	20	14		13			2	47
	iv	160	25		10	15		11		1	1	36
VI	i	223	93	1	54	40		28	2	3	6	122
	ii	199	33		21	12		5			2	38
	iii	139	47		15	32		18			3	65
	iv	175	56	1	32	25		13			4	70
VII	i	103	30	1	20	11		27		1	2	58
	ii	118	36		29	7		22		1	2	58
	iii	120	37	1	16	22		11			2	49
	iv	97	24		12	12		8			1	32
VIII	i	74	24	2	19	7		7			2	33
	ii	108	42		22	20		12		1	2	54
	iii	119	35		11	24		19		2	2	54
	iv	68	27	1	13	15		8			1	36
Total	32	3981	1228	26	709	537	8	435	16	36	85	1659

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 Pāṇini and the Vēda
 Thieme and Pāṇini

FOREWORD

BY

Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati, Darśanakalānidhi, Kulapati

Sri S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRIAR, M.A., I.E.S. (RETD.)

*Rtd. Professor of Sanskrit & Comparative Philology, Presidency College,
Madras, retired Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,
Madras and retired Honorary Professor of Sanskrit and Dean of the Faculty
of Oriental Studies in the Annamalai University.*

My friend Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., L.T., PH. D., has decided to confer upon me the pleasant and precious privilege of sponsoring, in a short foreword, these lectures in English on the first three *āhnikas* of *Sri Mahābhāṣya* by *Bhagavān Patañjali*. In exercising this privilege, I am happy to say that Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri has had the good fortune of studying the *Mahābhāṣya* under able teachers and has eagerly sought to acquire suitable opportunities for teaching the *Mahābhāṣya* through the medium of Sanskrit as well as English to Siromani students and to undergraduates studying for the Sanskrit Honours examination of the Annamalai University. A modern *belletrist* of the *Paramāikāntin* type in English and Sanskrit would prefer *Shakespeare* and *Kālidāsa* to the whole of the British Empire if he were asked to choose between the Empire and the works of these great poets. In India, the *Vāiyākaraṇa* tradition cherishes the oft-repeated saying महाभाष्यं वा पाठनीयम् महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्. If a *privilege-calculus*, similar to the *Ananda-calculus* of the *Tāittirīyōpaniṣad* should be worked out by *Vāiyākaraṇa* traditionists, they would give a scheme in which the opportunity to study and teach the *Mahābhāṣya* is on a par with Supreme Sovereignty in a political sense. Remembering all this, Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri has happily chosen portions of the *Mahābhāṣya* for

critical exposition through the medium of English in this work which is designed particularly to be of use to undergraduates studying for the Honours Degree examinations in Indian Universities. The exposition is critical and accurate as far as it goes and is lucid, easy and quite in conformity with traditional commentaries. A very useful and copious Introduction is prefixed to this work and Dr. Sastri has used and reviewed all the available material of importance in the writings of several modern scholars—Dr. Kielhorn, Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Max-Muller, Dr. Goldstucker, Dr. Faddegon, Dr. Thieme and Dr. Pawate.

This work, which is now being published by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, carries with it my prayerful wishes and hearty congratulations in the same way and to the same extent as many other works he has been producing and publishing of late in Sanskrit and in Tamil.

सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम्

(Camp) Ganapatiagraharam, }
(via) Ayyampet, }
Tanjore Dt., S. I. Ry. }

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI

6—6—1943.

PREFACE

Pāṇini, Kātyāyana-Vararuci and Patañjali form the Munitrayam in Sanskrit Grammar.

PĀṆINI

Patañjali observes that *Pāṇini* was the son of *Dākṣī*,¹ a great ancestor of the author of the *Saṅgraha*,² that *Kāutsa* was his pupil³ and he was known even to children.⁴ He was recognised to be such a great grammarian as to receive the epithets *ācārya*, *bhagavān* and *sukṛt* from great scholars like *Kātyāyana*⁵ and *Patañjali*.⁶ The word *paśyati*⁷ makes us infer that *Patañjali* considered him a *ṛṣi*. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller, also calls him so.⁸ I-tsing, another Chinese traveller, states thus:—"The *sūtra* is the foundation

- 1 Cf. सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः (M. B. under दाधा ध्वदाप् I-1-20, and युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसोश् VII-1-27.)
- 2 Cf. शोभना खलु दाक्षायणेन सङ्ग्रहस्य कृतिः (M. B. under उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि II-3-66.)
- 3 Cf. उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् (M. B. under भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः III-2-108.)
- 4 Cf. आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः (M. B. under आङ् मर्यादावचने I-4-89.)
- 5 Cf. एकशेषनिर्देशाद्वा ... भगवतः पाणिनेस्सिद्धम् (*Vārttika* under अ अ VIII-4-68);
आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिः (*id* under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1.)
बहुव्रीहिसंखरं शास्ति समासान्तविधेः सुकृत् (*id* under बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् VI-2-1.)
- 6 प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः ... सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म (M. B. under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1.)
तदुणसंविज्ञानाद्भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य (*id* under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य VII-1-1.)
माङ्गलिक आचार्यः (*id* under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1 and भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1.)
- 7 पश्यति त्वाचार्यः (*id* under जनसनखनां सञ्ज्ञलोः VI-4-42. etc.)
- 8 The rishi applied himself earnestly to selecting from the stock of words and formed an etymology of 1000 stanzas each of 32 words. (On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters I pp. 221 and 222. Words seem to be a wrong translation for syllables.)

of all grammatical science... It contains 1000 *ślōkas*¹ and is the work of *Pāṇini*... Children begin to learn the *sūtra* when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months time."² *Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita* tells us that his father was a ṛṣi named *Paṇi*.³ *Śabdakalpadruma* says that *Pāṇini* was recognised by other names also, viz. *Āhika*, *Śalaṅkī*, *Pāṇina* and *Śalāturiya*.

PĀṆINI'S BIRTH-PLACE

Yuan Chwang, the commentator on *Hēmacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and most of the modern scholars consider *Pāṇini* to be a native of *Śalātura*, a village near modern Attock in *Gāndhāra*. R. O. Franke thinks that he was born in the north (*Śalātura*), but had come to the east (*Pāṭaliputra*).⁴ The author of the *Śabdakalpadruma*, however, says that his forefathers belonged to *Śalātura*⁵ and he was not born there. If so, we have to determine his birth-place. *Jāimini* and *Bhartrihari* state that *Vyākaraṇa* is a *smṛti* written by *śiṣṭas*.⁶ *Ācārya Pāṇini* was considered a *śiṣṭa* by *Patañjali* and his

1 *Ślōkas* refer to *granthas* with 32 syllables.

2 A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing p. 178 and translated by J. Takakusu.

3 पणीति कश्चिन्मुनिरस्ति पूर्वं स पाणिनं नाम कुमारमाप ।

स्वतुल्यनाम्ना तनयेन सोऽपि दाक्षीमुदूढां दृढमभ्यनन्दत् ॥ (*Patañjalicarita* I-47).

4 *Pāṇini* and the *Vēda* by Dr. Paul Theime p. 76.

5 अथ पाणिनौ ।

शालातुरीयदाक्षेयौ ॥ (अभिधानचिन्तामणौ)

गान्धारप्रदेशविशेषशालातुरग्रामजातत्वादेवास्य तथा नाम इति अभिधानचिन्तामणिटीकायाम् ।

तुदीशालातुर (IV-3-94) सूत्रात् अभिजनार्थे एव छप्प्रत्ययः । अतः स्पष्टतः

शालातुरप्रदेशः पाणिनेः पूर्वपुरुषाणां वासस्थानमित्येव अवगम्यते न तु तस्येति (शब्दकल्पद्रुमे)

अथ निवासाभिजनयोः को विशेषः ? निवासो नाम यत्र सम्प्रत्युष्यते । अभिजनो नाम यत्र पूर्वैरुषितम् (M. B. under S. IV-3-90.)

6 साधुत्वज्ञानविषया सैषा व्याकरणस्मृतिः ।

अविच्छेदेन शिष्टानामिदं स्मृतिनिबन्धनम् ॥ (वाक्यपदीये I-143.)

followers. *Śiṣṭas*,¹ according to *Patañjali*, are those *brāhmaṇas* who resided in *Āryāvarta* bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by *Pāriyōtra* (a portion of the Vindhya), on the east by *Kālakavana* (near Rajmahal hills in Bengal) and on the west by *Ādarśa* (Aravalli hills)² and who were proficient in some *śāstra*, full of contentment, free from avarice, possessing high character and doing their duty without expecting any reward therefor—*Dharmābhinivēśinah*. Therefore it may not be wrong if we consider him to have lived in *Āryāvarta*. His mention of the eastern country in *sūtras* like *Ēṇ prācām dēśē* (I-1-75), *Prācām nagarāntē* (VII-3-24), and of the northern country in *sūtras* like *Udīcyagrāmācca bahvacōsan-tōdāttāt* (IV-2-109), and his reference to the opinion of the eastern and northern schools in *sūtras* like *Śōṇāt prācām* (IV-4-43), *Mātarapitarāu udīcām* (VI-3-32) may be taken as sufficient clue to his having lived in the *madhyadēśa* whose boundary is, according to *Manudharmaśāstra*, the Himalayas on the north, the Vindhya on the south, *Prayāg* or Allahabad on the east and *Vinaśana* or the plains at *Ād-badri* where the river *Sarasvatī* disappears on the west.³ The eastern country referred to by him may denote the countries situated south-east of the *Śarāvati* and may consist of the Kasi, Kosala, Vidarbha and Magadha⁴ and the northern country may

1 के पुनः शिष्टाः ? ... एवं तर्हि निवासतश्चाचारतश्च । स चाचार आर्यावर्ते एव । कः पुनरार्यावर्तः ? प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक्कालकवनात् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तम् उत्तरेण पारियात्रम् । एतस्मिन्नार्यावर्ते निवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा अगृह्यमाणकारणाः किञ्चिदन्तरेण कस्याश्चिद् विद्यायाः पारङ्गतास्तत्रभवन्तः शिष्टाः ... शिष्टपरिज्ञार्थी अष्टाध्यायी M. B. under S. पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् (VI-3-109) *Ādarśa*=Aravalli mountains; *Kālakavana* Rajmahal hills; *Pāriyātra*=West part of Vindhya (Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey.)

2 The same idea is mentioned in *Bāudhāyana Dharma sūtra* I-1-2-10.

3 हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत्प्राग्विनशनादपि ।

प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ (Manu. II-21.)

4 लोकोऽयं भारतं वर्षं शरावत्यास्तु योऽवधेः ।

देशः प्राग्दक्षिणः प्राच्यः उदीच्यः पश्चिमोत्तरः ॥ (*Amarakōśa*.)

denote those situated north-west thereof.¹ The *Śarāvātī* is identified by Wilford with *Bāṅgaṅga* which passes through the district of Budaon in Rohilkand.² In *Madhyadēśa* he may have lived as near *Vipāśa* or the Beas as possible as he enjoins the *pratyaya añ* to the names of the wells north of her.³ Most of the countries like *Kuru Pañcāla* and cities like *Uśīnara* mentioned by him in the *sūtras* are nearer *madhyadēśa* than the eastern and northern countries though some are nearer the northern country. The names of most of the characters found in the *Mahābhārata* are mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*⁴ and the place of accent in the word *mahābhārata* is stated in the *sūtra Mahān vr̥hi ... bhārata ... prāvṛddhēṣu* (VI-2-38). *Kāuśāmbī*, the birth-place of *Kātyāyana*, the *Vārttikakāra* and *Prayāg*, the abode of the sage *Bharadvāja* and probably of the *Vārttikakāras* who went by the name of *Bhāradvājīyas* are in the *Madhyadēśa*, the probable abode of the *Sūtrakāra*. It has already been said that *Śālātura* was the residence of his forefathers and he seems to have at least the places mentioned by him—*Takṣaśilu*,⁵ *Bāhika*,⁶ *Kēkaya*,⁷ *Trigarta*,⁸ *Parvata*⁹ etc.

1 & 2 Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey.

3 उदक् च विपाशः

4 ... *AmbēSmbālēmbikē* (VI-1-118), *Vāsudēvārjunābhyām vun* (IV-3-98), *Bhīmādayō-apādānē* (III-4-74), *Drōṇaparvata...* (IV-1-103), *Kurunā-dibhyō nyaḥ* (IV-1-172), *Sālvēgāndhāribhyām ca* (IV-1-169), *Pārāśaryaśilālibhyām bhikṣunaṭasūtrayōḥ* (4-3-110.)

5 सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो णञौ (IV-3-93).

6 वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च (IV-2-117).

7 केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः (VII-3-2).

8 भर्गात् त्रैगर्ते (IV-1-111).

9 The word *Parvata* in the *sūtras Āyudhajīvibhyaschaḥ* (IV-3-91) *Parvatē parvatācca* (IV-2-143) may refer to the country. (*Geographical Dictionary* by N. L. Dey.)

IS PĀṆINI'S AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ A COMPILATION OR AN ORIGINAL WORK ?

“*Pāṇini* was not the *inventor* of the *Grammatical system* preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, made his own additions to it... He availed himself of the technical terms of the older grammarians.”¹

“*Pāṇini* got handed down to him as *Upadēśa* from his *ācāryas* a book of *sūtras* which conformed to the *paribhāṣas* now found in the *Aṣṭd.*, with the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *gaṇapāṭha* as companion volumes to that book of *sūtras*. The book of *sūtras*, *Pāṇini* found, was incomplete and inadequate as a manual of Sanskrit grammar. So he proceeded to enlarge it mainly by incorporating with it *sūtras* borrowed from grammatical works belonging to schools of grammar other than his own; ... by framing, wherever necessary, fresh *sūtras* of his own and adding them to it.”² “In the *Aṣṭd.* itself only those *sūtras* can be definitely ascribed to *Pāṇini* which, though they do not go against the *Paribhāṣas* found in the *Aṣṭd.*, yet can be shown to be additions by *Pāṇini* by the three tests of *maṇḍūkapluti*, the *cānukṛṣṭasyōttaratrānuvṛttiḥ* and the purposeless *yōgavibhāga*. Such *sūtras* form only a negligible minority in the *Aṣṭd.* Then why call the *Aṣṭd.* system of grammar the *Pāṇinīya* at all? Why? Because—answer *Patañjali* and *Vāmana* and *Jayāditya*—it is *Pāṇininā prōktam*, *na tu kṛtam*—*Paspaśā Tēna prōktam* IV-111-101 ... *Yattēna prōktam na ca tēna kṛtam*.”³

Pawate took *Pāṇininā prōktam pāṇinīyam* found in *Paspaśā* along with the *bhāṣya* under the *sūtra Tēna prōktam*

1 *Panini and his place in Literature* by T. Goldstucker p. 88.

2 The structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by I. S. Pawate p. 114.

3 *ibid.* pp. 118-119.

and came to the conclusion that *Pāṇini* is more a *Pravakṛ*¹ than the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But, *Paṭaṅjali* has conclusively proved from the use of the words *Pranayali sma*, *prayunkṭē*, *karōti*, *kriyantē*, *kṛtiḥ*, *karṭā*, *paṭhitam*, *śāsti*, *āha* etc. in the following quotations that *Pāṇini* is not a mere *Pravakṛ* but also the author. प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचावकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म (M. B. under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1).

माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते (*id*).

पश्यति त्वाचार्यः — ‘आदेशो यः सकारस्तस्य षत्वम्’ इति, — ततो घसिग्रहणं करोति (*ibid* under आदेशप्रत्ययोः VIII-3-59).

देश्याः सूत्रनिबन्धाः क्रियन्ते (*ibid* under अतिशयने तमविष्टनौ V-3-55).

शोभना खलु पाणिनेः सूत्रस्य कृतिः (*ibid* under उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि II-3-66).

य एव तस्य समयस्य² कर्ता स एवेदमप्याह (*ibid* under वासरूपोऽ-स्त्रियाम् III-1-94)

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितं षष्ठ्या च निर्देशः कृतः (*ibid* under ... ष्यङ्गोत्वे IV-1-78).

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितम् (*ibid* under V-1-115).

यद्वाह्यणादिभ्यो यनं शास्ति (M. B. under ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाचन् IV-2-42).

पश्यति त्वाचार्यः — न द्विशब्द आदेशो भवति — इति, ततस्तस्य परमाण्नेडितमनुदात्तं चेत्याह (*ibid* under सर्वस्यद्वे (VIII-1-1)).

The statement “*Pāṇini* got handed down as *upadēśa* from his *ācāryas* a book of *sūtras*” is quite contrary to the statement of the author of the *Kāśikā* “विनोपदेशेन ज्ञातमुपज्ञातं, स्वयमभिसंबद्धमित्यर्थः, पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं पाणिनीयमकालकं व्याकरणम्” under the *sūtra* उपज्ञाते (IV-3-115).

1 *ibid*. p. 123.

2 न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या न च केवलः प्रत्ययः

Besides *Patañjali* clearly states that *Vyākaraṇa* is not *nitya* as *chandō-brāhmaṇāni*.

Cf. अन्यत्राभिधेयमनित्यं भवति । पाणिनीयमिति वा पाणिनीया इति वा (M. B. under छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि IV-2-66).

न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते. नित्यानि छन्दांसि (*ibid* under तेन प्रोक्तम् IV-3-101).

In about 4000 *sūtras* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Pāṇini* mentions the names of seers who held different views in 19 *sūtras*,¹ the name of *ācāryas* in general in two *sūtras*, *ēkē* in one *sūtra*, *sarvē* in one *sūtra*, *prācām* and *udācām* in about 20 *sūtras*. Besides, the *sūtras* *Janapadē lup* (IV-2-81), *Varaṇādibhyaś ca* (IV-2-82), *Lupi yuktavadvyaktivacanē* (I-2-51)², *Āuṇa āpaḥ* (VII-1-18),³ *Āṇi cāpaḥ* (VII-3-105)⁴ and *Āṇō nāstriyām* (VII-3-120) are considered to be the *sūtras* of his predecessors. Thus only about fifty *sūtras* deal with the opinion of others.

Hence it seems that *Aṣṭādhyāyī* should be taken only as an original contribution of *Pāṇini* to the grammatical literature and not a compilation of the *sūtras* of previous authors, though he made use of *saṃjñās* of his predecessors. and adopted their method as in the use of *it* etc.

Pawate considers that *Janapadē lup*, *Varaṇādibhyaś ca*, *Lupi yuktavadvyaktivacanē* are the *sūtras* of *pūrvācāryas* and they are refuted by *Pāṇini* in the *sūtras* *Tad aśiṣyam saṃjñāpramāṇatvāt* and *Lubyōgāprakhyānāt* and *Āuṇa āpaḥ*, *Āṇō nāstriyām*,

1 शाकल्यः—4 ; शाकटायनः—3 ; गालवः, गार्ग्यः, आचार्याः each 2 ; काश्यपः, स्फोटायनः, चाक्रवर्मणः, भारद्वाजः, आपिशलिः, सेनकः each 1 ;

2 व्यक्तिवचने इति च लिङ्गसङ्ख्ययोः पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशः । तदीयमेवेदं सूत्रम् (काशिका)

3 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं, पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धाः न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (महाभाष्यम्)

4 आङ्गिति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्यते (काशिका)

and *Āni cāpah* were incorporated by *Pāṇini* from previous authors.¹

Barend Faddegon thinks that the five *sūtras* beginning with *Tad aśiṣyam saṁjñāpramāṇatvāt* (I-2-53) are interpolations. "The interpolation consisted originally in *sūtra* 53, an antagonistic opinion current in the old grammarian schools and well explained and refuted by *Patañjali*. Its insertion after I-2-52 is due to the artificial term *lup* used in *sūtra* I-2-51. Afterwards the term *saṁjñā* was misunderstood and a long series of objections were interpolated by schoolmasters who did not understand the worth of *Pāṇini*'s researches.²

Faddegon's theory mostly rests on the interpretation of the sentence किं या एताः कृत्रिमाष्टिभुमादिसंज्ञाः तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम् ; नेत्याह ; संज्ञानं संज्ञा found in the *Mahābhāṣya* under तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्. Both the author of the *Kāśikā* and Faddegon have taken the sentence किं या एताः कृत्रिमाष्टिभुमादिसंज्ञाः तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम् to be the statement of *pūrvapakṣin*. But the former holds the view that the *pūrvapakṣin* without correctly understanding what *tat* in *tad aśiṣyam* stands for and mistaking that it refers to the *saṁjñās* created by *Pāṇini* asked whether *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha* etc. need not be mentioned and the *siddhāntin* replies that it was not so since the word *saṁjñā* in *saṁjñāpramāṇatvāt* refers only to those *saṁjñās* whose meaning can be well understood. There are many instances in the *Mahābhāṣya* wherein questions are put by *pūrvapakṣin* without understanding the correct meaning. Besides he seems to have taken *saṁjñā* to mean *saṁjñāna*; but *saṁjñā* (in the *sūtra*) means that through which correct denotation is produced and hence it is said *saṁjñāśabda hi nānālingasaṁkhyāḥ*. Faddegon thinks that the interpretations of *Patañjali* and the author of the *Kāśikā* on *saṁjñānam saṁjñā* are different. Since the

1 The structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (pp. 110-114).

2 Studies on *Pāṇini*'s grammar by Barend Faddegon (pp. 57-59).

Vārttikakāra himself says *Pūrvasūtranirdēśō vāpiśalaṁ adhītē iti* under the *sūtra Anupasarjanāt* (IV-1-14) and the *Mahābhāṣya-kāra* says *pūrvasūtranirdēśōsyam* under *Auṇa āpaḥ* (VII-1-18) *pūrvasūtranirdēśas ca* under *Ahnōsdantāt* (VIII-4-7) it is quite possible that *Pāṇini* may have incorporated some *sūtras* of the previous authors like *Āpiśali* and *Kāśakṛtsna* whose works are definitely understood from the *Mahābhāṣya* to have preceded *Pāṇini*'s.¹

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF THE GAṆAPĀṬHA OR NOT ?

Pawate says that 'it seems that the whole of the *Gaṇapāṭha* and consequently the *sūtras* for which the various *gaṇas* were written are pre-*Pāṇinian*' and '*Pāṇini* received the whole of the *Gaṇapāṭha* from his predecessors as *upadēśa*.'² The arguments that he adduces thereto are that, according to the *prācīnakārikā*

धातुसूत्रगणोणादिवाक्यलिङ्गानुशासनम् ।

आगमप्रत्ययादेशा उपदेशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

upadēśa includes the *gaṇapāṭha* and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* states 'उपदेश इत्युक्ते गुरुकर्तृकतायाः स्वरसतः प्रतीतिः'³ and "*Kātyāyana* held that the *Gaṇapāṭha* preceded the *Sūtrapāṭha*"⁴ and the statement in the *Mahābhāṣya* "इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं, व्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो मा भूदिति" which suggests that there were two ways of reading सर्वादिगण.

In the *kārikā* there is mention of *sūtra* also and the expression of *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa-svarasataḥ pratītēḥ* suggests that the

1 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलमधीते } (*Vārttika* under IV-1-14.)
काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा

तथा चापिशलेर्विधिः (*Vārttika* under IV-2-4) 5.

आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याडीयगौतमीयाः (M. B. under S. आचार्योपसर्जनश्चन्तेवासी VI-2-36)

2 The structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* pp. 86 and 87.

3 *Uddyōta* under *Vṛttisamavāyārtha upadēśaḥ* in *Paspaśū* in *Mahābhāṣya*.

4 The structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* pp. 86-88.

word *upadēśa* has more meanings than one and *Patañjali* himself gives two meanings to it – *Pratyakṣam ākhyānam upadēśaḥ* and *Guṇāiḥ prāpaṇam upadēśaḥ* under the *sūtra Upadēśōsjanunāsika* it (I-3-2). Two ways of reading *sarvādi-gaṇa* might have existed at the time of *Patañjali*, of which one was generally preferred. There are certain definite statements in the *Mahābhāṣya* which suggest that the framework of the *Gaṇapāṭha* was the work of *Pāṇini* and it was further amplified by later authors :—

1. अवरादीनां च पुनः सूत्रपाठे ग्रहणानर्थक्यं गणे पठितत्वात् (*Vārttika* under I-1-34) The word *punaḥ* is appropriate only if both the *Sūtrapāṭha* and the *Gaṇapāṭha* are the works of the same author.

2. (a) यदयं श्वन्शब्दं गौरादिषु पठति (M. B. under विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् I-1-2)

(b) यदयं कस्कादिषु भ्रातृषुत्रशब्दं पठति (*ibid* under इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य III-1-41)

(c) यत् सवनादिषु अश्वसनिशब्दं पठति (*ibid* under VIII-3-110.)

The word *pāṭhati* as the predicate of *Ācārya* which refers to *Pāṇini* clearly tells us that, in the opinion of *Patañjali*, गौरादिगण, कस्कादिगण and सवनादिगण are the work of *Pāṇini*.

3. (a) एवमप्यधेः पूर्वनिपातः प्राप्नोति ; राजदन्तादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under V-4-7)

(b) नासिकयो वर्ण इति परिमुखादिषु पाठः करिष्यते, नासिक्यं नगरमिति सङ्काशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (*ibid* under VI-1-53)

(c) युवादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under VII-2-12)

(d) युवादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under VIII-4-7)

(e) कथं चटका मूषिकेति ? अजादिषु पाठः कर्तव्यः (*ibid* under IV-1-63)

The expressions *pāṭhaḥ kariṣyatē* and *pāṭhaḥ kartavyaḥ* clearly tell us that the *Gaṇapāṭha* was amplified by *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.

4. (a) अधिकरणे शेते: पार्श्वादिषूपसङ्ख्यानम् (*Vārttika* under III-2-15).

(b) गवि च विन्दे: संज्ञायामुपसङ्ख्यानम् (M. B. under III-1-138)
The word उपसङ्ख्यानम् suggests that the *Gaṇapāṭha* was supplemented by *Vārttikakāra*.

5. The inclusion of *Vyāḍi* in *krāuḍyādi* is a clear indication that the *Gaṇapāṭha* received additions later on.

6. Some *gaṇas* were created later on:

Cf. कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोडाद्यर्थम् (*Vārttika* under कम्बोजाल्लुक् IV-1-175.)

चोडाद्यर्थम्—चोडः, कडेरः, केरलः, (M. B. under *id.*)

Pāṇini should be credited with the authorship of the framework of *Gaṇapāṭha*, which was amplified later in several ways. The process of amplification may be said to have reached its *acme* in the well-known device of the *ākṛti-gaṇa* fiction.

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF THE DHĀTUPĀṬHA OR NOT?

“The ground-work of the only *Dhātupāṭha* we now possess is, like the ground-work of the *Uṇṇādi* list, the work of *Pāṇini*”.¹ “This list makes use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of *Pāṇini*’s grammar, and their grammatical value is exactly the same in both works”² This statement of Goldstucker should be true, since *Pāṇini* limits the number of roots which undergo a particular modification as शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुन् (III-2-141), कणां च सप्तानाम् (VI-4-125) रुदश्च पञ्चभ्यः (VII-3-98). *Patañjali* himself states that the *Dhātupāṭha* should have been a work separate from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and it should be the work of *Pāṇini*.³

1 *Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature by T. Goldstucker p. 141.

2 *Ibid* p. 140.

3 तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः ‘अस्ति च प.ठो बाह्यश्च सूत्रात्’ इति (M. B. under *Sūtra* भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1).

तथाजातीयकाः खल्वाचार्येण स्वरितजितः पठिताः (M. B. under I-3-72).

The meanings given to roots in the *Dhātupāṭha* is considered by *Kāiṣaṭa* to be *non-Pāṇinīyan* and is held to be the work of *Bhīmasēna* by *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa*.¹ *Patañjali* shows that some portion of the *Dhātupāṭha* was lost before him.² *Kāiṣaṭa* shows that the *Dhātupāṭha* was amplified later by the *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.³

Pawate says, "The various schools of Sanskrit grammar seem to have had their own separate *Dhātupāṭhas* The *Pāṇinians* themselves had their *Dhātupāṭha* in more than one version ... But at present we have only one version of the *Pāṇinian Dhātupāṭha* and the other seems to have been irrecoverably lost The author of the *Ashtadhyayi* is not the author of the Dh. P. ... The Dh. P. seems to be the work of a predecessor of *Pāṇini*. But nevertheless the arrangement of roots in the Dh. P. clearly shows that the author of the Dh. P. knew very many *sūtras* now found in the *Aṣṭād.* and so arranged the roots in the Dh. P. as to serve the purposes of those *sūtras*"⁴

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF UṆĀDI OR NOT ?

T. Goldstucker says, "All the *Uṇṇādi* affixes have *anubandhas* which are exactly the same and have the same grammatical effect as those used by *Pāṇini*. They cannot be later than this work, for it refers to them ; they cannot have preceded it, for *Patañjali* says that "whatever *anubandhas*

1 न चार्थपाठः परिच्छेदकः तस्यापाणिनीयत्वात् (*Kāiṣaṭa* under the same *sūtra* ; भीमसेनेनैत्येतिहाम् (*Uddyōta*).

2 के पुनः षोपदेशा धातवः ? पठितव्याः (M, B. under धात्वादेः षः सः VI-1-64).

के पुनर्णोपदेशा धातवः ? पठितव्याः (M. B. under णो नः VI-1-65).

पाठभ्रंशसम्भवात्प्रश्नः (*Kāiṣaṭa* under धात्वादेः षः सः)

3 सूत्रवार्तिकभाष्यगणेषु ये पठ्यन्ते तेऽपि सूत्रकारादिप्रामाण्याद्वातुत्वेनाश्रयणीयाः (*Pradīpa* under भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1).

4 The Structure of the *Ashtadhyayi* by I. S. Pawate pp. 5-31.

occur in a *sūtra* of a former grammarian, they have no *anubandha* effect in *Pāṇini's* work". Consequently the *Uṇṇādi* list must be of *Pāṇini's* own authorship. This conclusion is based on the interpretation that *iha* in the sentence पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (M. B. under VII-1-18) means *Pāṇini's* grammar. (Can it not be interpreted to mean the *sūtras* in which such *anubandhas* have no *anubandha* effect? Besides the statement of *Kāiyāṭa* उणादय इत्येव सूत्रमुणादीनां ¹शास्त्रान्तरपठितानां साधुत्वाभ्यनुज्ञानार्थमस्तु इति भावः under S, उणादयो बहुलम् (III-3-1) and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's* statement एवं च कृवापेत्याद्युणादिसूत्राणि शाकटायनस्येति सूचितम् under the same *sūtra* suggest that, according to *Kāiyāṭa*, *Uṇṇādi* is the work of another grammarian and according to *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* it is the work of *Śākaṭāyana*. But T. Goldstucker says that, "since *Nāgōji's* conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the *Uṇṇādi* list is of *Pāṇini's* authorship."

WAS PĀṆINI AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF ATHARVAVĒDA ?

T. Goldstucker argues that *Pāṇini* did not have a knowledge of the *Atharvavēda* since *Pāṇini's* *sūtras* did not speak of either the compound *Atharvāṅgirasas* or its derivative *Atharvāṅgirasa* though he mentions the names *Āṅgiras* in II-4-65 and *ātharvaṇika* in (IV-3-133 and (VI-4-174) and though *Patañjali* mentions *Ātharvaṇō mantrah* and *ātharvaṇa āmnāyaḥ* under IV-3-133. Do the words *atharvan* and *ātharvaṇa* found in the *goṇa* under IV-2-63 mean only a literary work? Since *Atharvavēda* was named not only *atharvāṅgirasa* ² but also *ātharvaṇa* ³ and since the latter is

1 शस्त्रान्तरे = व्याकरणान्तरे (*Uddyōta*)

2 Cf. यस्मादचो अपातक्षन्यजुर्यस्मादपाकषन् । सामानि यस्य लोमान्यथर्वाङ्गिरसो मुखं स्कम्भन्तं ब्रूहि कतमः खिदेव सः A. V. X-7-20.

3 Cf. ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थम् (*Chāndōgyōpaniṣad* VII-1)

mentioned in the *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad* which is not considered later than *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, and since the word *āmnāya* generally denotes *Vēda* in Sanskrit Literature, the statement *Ātharvaṇa āmnāyaḥ* must be understood to mean *Atharvavēda*. Besides, when *Patañjali* at the beginning of the *Mahābhāṣya* has stated that *Pāṇini* deals with both *Vāidika* and *lāukika* words, he quotes four *Vēdic* texts to represent four *Vēdas*. शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये is the text he quotes to represent the *Atharvavēda*. He refers to the same on three more occasions :—

ओं इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति. (M. B. *Paspāśa*.)

शन्नोदेवीयकमधीष्व (M. B. under I-3-2).

शन्नोदेवीयं संहितयाधीष्व (*ibid* under I-4-110).

The words अथर्वन् and आथर्वण cannot be said to mean only a non-*vēdic* literary work since the other words in the group *vasanta*, *grīṣma*, *varṣā*, *śarada*, *śarat* ... are all taken by *Patañjali* to mean the study of *Vēda* in *vasanta* etc.¹ and the context favours the view that the expression आथर्वण आम्नायः refers to the *Vēda* whose seer is *Atharvan*.

P. Thieme tells us that the word एलयति in S. III-2-51 suggests that *Pāṇini* is conversant with *Atharvavēda* since ऐलयीत् is found in A. V. 6-16-3.² *Patañjali*, also in his statement सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् under तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् (VI-3-14) and under पूर्वापर ... (II-1-58), *Kāyapa* through his commentary सर्ववेदसाधारणेनानेन शब्दानां प्रतिपादनं क्रियते and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* in his gloss इदन्तु सर्वेषां वैदिकानां लौकिकानाञ्च शब्दानामनुशासनम् suggest that *Pāṇini* knew *Atharvavēdasamhitā*.

PĀṆINI'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE VĒDAS INTO MANTRA AND BRĀHMAṆA AND THE EXISTENCE OF KALPASŪTRAS ETC.

The mention of the word *mantrē* in the *sūtras* II-4-80, III-2-71, III-3-96, VI-3-131 and VI-4-141 and of the words

1 वसन्तसहचरितमध्ययनं वसन्तः अध्ययनम् (M. B. under IV-2-63).

2 *Pāṇini* and the *Vēda* by P. Thieme p. 64.

brāhmaṇa and *kalpa* in the *sūtra* पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु (IV3105) suggests that *Pāṇini* was aware of the classification of the *Vēdas* into *mantrabhāga* and *brāhmaṇabhāga*. Besides, the word *purāṇa* suggests that some *brāhmaṇas* and *kalpas* were considered to be ancient and some to be recent. *Kāśikā* gives भाल्लविनः, शाट्यायनिनः, ऐतरेयिनः, पैङ्गी, आरुणपराजी for the former and याज्ञवल्कानि and आश्मरथः for the latter. From this it is evident that the author of the *Kāśikā* considered *Pāṇini*, *Yājñavalkya* and *Āśmarathya* to be contemporaries or the last two lived a few years before him. याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यकालत्वात् (*Vārttika*) suggests that, in the opinion of *Kātyāyana*, *Yājñavalkya* was contemporary of *Pāṇini*.¹ From the statement in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* जनमेजयस्यापि शतानीको भविष्यति । योऽसौ याज्ञवल्क्या-द्वेदमधीत्य कृपादस्त्राण्यवाप्य ... शौनकोपदेशात् आत्मज्ञानप्रवीणः it is clear that शतानीक याज्ञवल्क्य, शौनक and कृप are contemporaries. It may therefore be inferred that *Pāṇini* could have known *Śatapatha brāhmaṇa*. If so, he should have known *Śukla-yajurvedasamhitā*. But P. Thieme says that Goldstucker was right in saying that *Pāṇini* did not draw upon the white *Yajurveda*.² The *sūtra* छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकवद्वचनटाञ्ज्यः (IV-3-129) explaining the formation of *chāndōgya* and *bāhvrya* tells us that *Pāṇini* was aware of the *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad* and the *brāhmaṇas* of the *Ṛgvēda*. The *sūtra* त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतोब्राह्मणे संज्ञायां उण् (V-1-62) may refer to कौषीतकीब्राह्मण³ and ऐतरेयब्राह्मण since they have

1 The *Vārttika* is interpreted in two ways:—The author of *Kāśikā*, *Bhaṭṭojidiksita* etc. consider *Yājñavalkya* to be an *arvācīna* and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* etc. consider him to be a *prācīna*.

2 *Pāṇini* and the *Veda* by Thieme p. 74.

3 Note that *Kāuṣītaki* is suggested in the *sūtra* *Vikarṇakuṣītakāthāśyape* (IV-1-124.) and Cf. It is really impossible to doubt that V-1-62 with its reference to *Brāhmaṇas* of 30 and 40 chapters refers to the *Kāuṣītaki* and *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇas* ... It would therefore be wholly impossible to rule out knowledge by *Pāṇini* of other *Brāhmaṇas* merely because he fails to note striking forms therein found. How much of our *Vedic* literature did *Pāṇini* use? There is no doubt regarding the R. V. K. S., M. S., T. S. and A. V. *Pāṇini* and the *Veda* by A. B. Keith (*Indian Culture* Vol. II, p. 737).

30 and 40 *ādhyāyas* respectively. ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम् originated at the country between *Kuru* and *Pāñcāla* and it has already been shown that *Pāṇini* lived in the *Madhyadēśa*. It is quite possible he was quite familiar with all the details relating to these *Brāhmaṇa* texts, such as the number of *ādhyāyas* they contained.

The *sūtras* मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः (VI-1-154) and *Pārāśaryaśīlālibhyām bhikṣunaṭasūtrayōḥ* (IV-3-110) suggest that the fourth *āśrama* was recognised before him and there was a book of *sūtras* dealing with things concerning *sannyāsins*. It is worth considering whether the *Bhikṣusūtra* refers to *Vēdāntasūtras* since its author is said to be *Pārāśarya* here and the *adhikārin* to study it is generally considered to be *sannyāsins*. Since *Śīlāli* is said to be the author of *Naṭasūtra*, *nāṭya* should then have been in a developed state. The mention of the word *carāṇa* in the *sūtras* *Carāṇēbhhyō dharmavat* (IV-2-46), *Gōtracarāṇāduñ* (IV-3-126) and *Carāṇē brahmacāriṇi* (VI-3-86) and the mention of *Tittiri*, *Kaṭha*, *Kalāpi* etc. in the *sūtras* where *Tēna prōktam* has the *anuvṛtti*, clearly suggest that each *Vēda* had more than one *śākhā* in his time. The *sūtra* अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः IV-3-69 tells us that *Vēdas* were divided into chapters and they were named after their authors. The word *upayōga* in the *sūtra* *Ākhyātōpayōgē* I-4-29 and its interpretation by *Patañjali* as *niyama-pūrvakādhyayanam* suggest that *Vēdas* were studied with *niyama* unlike *kāvyas*, works on *nāṭya* etc.¹

The *sūtras* नित्यं हस्ते पाणानुपयमने (I-4-77), सातपदीनं सख्यम् (V-2-22) suggest that the important details of the marriage ceremony were the same in *Pāṇini*'s time as they are now. *Śrāddhē śaradaḥ* (IV-3-12) suggests that there were *śrāddhas* enjoined in his time. The word *dāyāda* in II-3-39 suggests

1 उपयोगः को भवितुमर्हति ? यो नियमपूर्वकः । तद्यथा उपयुक्ता माणवका इत्युच्यन्ते, य एते नियमपूर्वकमधीतवन्तो भवन्ति । उपयोग इति किमर्थम् ? नटस्य शृणोति ग्रन्थिकस्य शृणोति (M. B. under I-4-29)

that there was partition of parental Property. ^ The *sūtras* यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूहसामसु (I-2-34), न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः (I-2-37), यज्ञे समि स्तुबः III-3-31) etc. clearly show that most of the details of *yajñas* also were the same in his time as they are now.

From the points noted above it follows that there were *Śrāuta*, *Grhya* and *Dharma sūtras* before *Pāṇini*'s time.

The *sūtras* आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते (IV-2-91), ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम् (V-2-71) tell us that a section of *brāhmaṇas* in the *Parvata* country lived on weapons.

Batakrishna Ghosh says, "*Pragṛhya sūtras* of *Pāṇini*, *Pāṇini* must have been directly copying from the *Rk Prātiśākhya*".¹

The words *nāndī*, *lipi* in III-2-21. *śilpini* in III-2-55, *ślōka* in III-1-25 and III-2-23 and *sūtra* in III-2-23 and IV-2-65 suggest that writing, architecture, the *sūtra* form of the composition and the designation of *ślōka* to verses were known in his time. The word *bhāṣāyām* in *sūtras* like VIII-2-98 and the word *chandasi* in *sūtras* like III-3-129 suggest that Sanskrit was a spoken language in his time and it began to differ from the Sanskrit used in the *Vēdas*. The *sūtras* उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः (II-1-55) उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे कर्तरि उपमाने (III-2-79) show that the figure of speech *upamā* was also used in the sense of *equal* as is inferred from the *sūtra* तुल्याथैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयान्यतरस्याम् (II-3-72). The *sūtra* *Dakṣiṇā-pāścāt-purasas-tyak* (IV-2-98) tells us that the words *dākṣiṇātyaḥ*, *pāścātyaḥ* and *pāurastyāḥ* were in use in his time. Originally they may have meant one belonging to the southern country, one belonging to the western and one belonging to the eastern. This may perhaps suggest that *Pāṇini* was in the

1 Thieme and *Pāṇini* (Indian Culture Vol. IV p. 399)

madhyadēśa and referred to people south, west and east of it.¹

The *sūtra* *Yaskādibhyō gōtrē* (II-4-63) refers to *Yāska*. T. Goldstucker thinks that he is anterior to *Pāṇini*.² Since it is only a *taddhitānta* name, it is better to come to a definite conclusion on the point on the strength of another positive evidence.

THE PLAN, THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPOSITION ETC. IN THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ.

Faddegon in his *Studies on Pāṇini's grammar* writes :— The first five chapters deal with the theory of the ultimate components of language or the analytical part of grammar, the sixth and the seventh chapters with the theory of word coalescence and vocalic sandhi in general and the eight with the theory of sentence—coalescence and of consonantal sandhi in general.³

The main principles of *Pāṇini's* forms of literary composition are mnemotechnical economy, logical division and associative digression,⁴ and the subsidiary forms of composition and arrangement are (1) *pūrvatrāsiddhatva*, (2) distinctive insertion like the definition of *saṃhitā* and *avasāna* at the end of adhy. 1, pā. 4, (3) oratorical division like announcing in the last *sūtra* of a *pāda* the subject of the following *pāda* or giving at the beginning of a *pāda* a few additions to the foregoing *pāda* and insertion by emergency. A fact of peculiar

1 Under the *sūtra* पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिः दक्षिणस्तथोत्तरतः 1-1-2-1 of *Bāudhāyana*, the commentator writes दक्षिणेन नर्मदामुत्तरेण कन्यातीर्थम्, उत्तरस्तु दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदग्विन्ध्यस्य. *Vātsyāyana* uses the word दक्षिणालानाम् in *sūtras* II-4-10, II-6-46, II-7-23 etc. Hence the word *dākṣiṇātyaḥ* may originally have meant man of the south and later on may have been restricted to mean the inhabitant of the Deccan. (Cf. Apte's Dictionary.)

2 *Pāṇini* – His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 171.

3 *Studies on Pāṇini's Grammar* by B. Faddegon pp. 51—53.

4 *Ibid* p. 49.

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interest in *Pāṇini's* composition is the tendency towards dichotomy in the main divisions of his work.¹ The indeclinables (*avyayas*) are enumerated by *Pāṇini* in I-1-37-41 and I-4-56-94, the former being based on etymology and the latter on function.² The term *nipāta* is used in its *wide* significance to include all the indiclinables with a relational meaning (conjunctions, model adverbs, close adverbs to finite verbs, prefixes to deverbative nouns and indeclinables, close adverbs which have developed into free adverbs, prepositions) and in a *narrow* significance to denote only conjunctions and model adverbs. This distinction of a *wide* and *narrow* significance appears to be a kind of logical artfulness chosen for the sake of brevity. The word *kriyāyōgē* is used in the sense 'in connection with the notion of an action either expressed or implied.' from the use of *upasarga* in V-4-119, VI-2-177 and VI-3-97 and not in the sense 'in connection with a word expressing an action, either a finite verb or a diverbative.'³ The terms *karmapravacanīyaḥ* and *karmadhārayaḥ* might have been due to the influence of the older schools, since the word *karma* in both is not used in the same sense as that in *Kartur īpsitatamam karma*⁴.

What strikes us then...is the trustworthiness of *Pāṇini*, his power of observation, his love of language, his deep intellectual and emotional understanding.⁵ The worth of *Pāṇini's* work for us is not in its linguistic information, however valuable many a detail may be, but in its fitness as a training for our understanding the Indian method of composition and specially as a scientific work it offers in this respect great advantages.⁶ The more one studies the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the more one realises the depth and correctness of the characterisation given by Speyer of this work that it is a well-planned and not only virtuosic but also ingenuous text-book.⁷

1 *Ibid* pp. 50-51. 2 *Ibid* pp. 7-8. 3 *Ibid* pp. 15 and 16. 4 *Ibid* p. 17.

5 *Ibid* p. 47. 6 *Ibid* p. 48. 7 *Ibid* p. 36.

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"I adore *Pāṇini* because he reveals to us the spirit of India".¹

HIS OTHER WORK

Pāṇini is the author of *Pātālavijayam* or *Jāmbavatī-vijayam*² also.

Kātyāyana - *Vararuci* was very prominent among a large number of seers *Bhāradvājīyas*,³ *Sāunāgas*,⁴ *Ślōkavārttikakāra*,⁵ etc. who wrote *Vārttikas* on *Pāṇini*'s grammar. *Kātyāyana*'s *Vārttikas* are generally prose, though some of them are verses.⁶ *Patañjali* mentions the names of other grammarians like *Vārṣṇayāṇi*,⁷ the propounder of the six *bhāvavikāras*, *Vāḍava*⁸ and refers to others in expressions like *apara*, *aparē*, *anyē ācāryas*, *kēcit* etc.

1. *Ibid* p. 4.

2. Cf. New verse of *Pāṇini* by *Krishnadeva Upādhyāy* (Indian Historical Quarterly Vol, XIII.)

3 M. B. under *sūtras Dādihāghvadāp* (I-1-20), *Sthānivadādēśōśnalvidhāu* (I-1-56). *Pūṇah ktvā ca* (I-2-22), *Nēraṇāu...* (I-3-67), *Ṇisridrusrubhyaḥ kartari caṇ* (III-1-48). *Na hruhasnūnamām yakicīṇāu* (III-1-89), *Gōtrāvayavāt* (IV-1-79), *Bhrasjō rōpadhayōram anyatarasyām* (IV-4-47) etc.

4 M. B. under *sūtras Yaṇāścāp* (IV-1-72), *Strīpumsābhyaṃ ...* (IV-1-87), *Ōmāniōśca* (VI-1-95), *Gharūpakalpa ...* (IV-3-43) etc.

5 *Bhartṛhari*'s *Pradīpaka* under *Akṣaram nakṣaram vidyāt* etc. at the end of *pratyāhārāhnikā*. The *Vārttika* :—

स्मादिविधिः पुरान्तो यद्यविशेषण किं कृतं भवति ।

न स्मपुरायतन इति वृत्ता कात्यायनेनेह । under *Laṭ smē* & *Patañjali*'s statement *kim vārttikakāraḥ pratiṣēdhēna karōti* make us infer that this *Vārttika* may have been by *Ślōkavārttikakāra*.

6 प्रत्यायाहारेऽनुबन्धानां कथमज्ग्रहणेषु न

आचारादप्रधानत्वान्नोपश्रय बलवत्तरः ॥ *Vārttika* under *Hayavaraṭ*

7 जायतेऽस्ति विपरिणमते वर्द्धतेऽपक्षीयते विनश्यति (M. B. under भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1).

8 सौर्यभागवतोक्तमनिष्टिज्ञो वाडवः पठति (M. B. under प्लुतावैच इदुतौ VIII-2-106).

RELATIONSHIP OF VĀRTTIKAS TO PĀṆINI'S SŪTRAS

Vārttika is defined thus by *Hēmacandra*:—

उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तार्थचिन्ताकारि तु वार्त्तिकम्

This is translated by Prof. Goldstucker as under:—"The characteristic feature of a *Vārttika* is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a *sūtra*."¹ Prof. F. Keilhorn, on a close study of the first nine *āhnikas* of the *Muhābhāṣya* thinks that the *Vārttikas* consider whether anything has been omitted in the *sūtras* that should have been stated and whether there is in them anything that is superfluous, faulty or objectionable.² Prof. Goldstucker, consequently says that "*Kātyāyana* did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of *Pāṇini*, but to find fault with them" and that "*Kātyāyana* does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of *Pāṇini*, but that of an *antagonist*, often too, of an unfair *antagonist*."³ Prof. Keilhorn, on the other hand, tells us that "the object of the *Vārttikas* is then no other than this, without bias or prejudice to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rules of *Pāṇini*'s grammar and on the one hand to justify *Pāṇini* by defending him against unfounded criticism and on the other hand to correct, reject, and add to, the rules laid down by him, where defence and justification were considered impossible."⁴ Prof. Keilhorn deserves our gratitude for having found out the real object of the *Vārttikas* and the attitude of *Kātyāyana* towards *Pāṇini*. From a study of all the 85 *āhnikas* of the *Mahābhāṣya* I see that, of about 1700 *sūtras* discussed there, about 450 have no *vārttikas*. Of the remaining 1250 *sūtras* more than 700 *sūtras* are beautifully explained by the *Vārttikakāra* without picking any hole in them. About ten

1 *Pāṇini* - His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 91.

2 *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali* by F. Keilhorn p. 48.

3 *Pāṇini* - His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 91.

4 *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali* p. 48.

sūtras are found by him to be not necessary. In the majority of the remaining 240 *sūtras* only additions and corrections or more correctly, changes in form and meaning are made. Since a long time should have elapsed between *Pāṇini's* time and *Kātyāyana's* time, it is just possible in the *spoken* language for words to have been changed both *morphologically* and *semantically* and to have become obsolete.¹ Hence the expression *duruktacintana* may be appropriate from the standpoint of a *descriptive* grammarian, but is unsound from the standpoint of a *historical* grammarian. *Kātyāyana* shows himself a *historical* grammarian in having noticed such changes.

KĀTYĀYANA WAS LATER THAN PĀṆINI

The following *vārttikas* clearly show the great regard *Kātyāyana* had towards *Pāṇini* :—

- (1) आचार्याचारात्संज्ञासिद्धिः (*Vārttika* under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1)
- (2) भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुज्यते (*ibid* under भूवादयो घातवः I-3-1).
- (3) नित्ये च यः शाकलभाक्समासे ।
तदर्थमेतद्भगवांश्चकार ॥ (*ibid* under इको यणचि VI-1-77).
- (4) बहुव्रीहिस्वरं शास्ति समासान्तविधेः सुकृत् (*ibid* under बहुव्रीहौ ... VI-2-1).
- (5) प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम् *ibid* under आयन् ... VII-1-2)
- (6) सिद्धं तु तद्गुणसंविज्ञानात्पाणिनेर्यथा लोके (*ibid* under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य VI-1-1).

1. Cf. *Pāṇini—His place in Sanskrit Literature* by T. Goldstrucker, pp. 95—98.

FORM ACCORDING TO PANINI :	FORM ACCORDING TO KATYAYANA :
(a) एकतरत् (अङ्तरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः VII-1-25);	एकतरम् (एकतरात् प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः)
(b) चिद्वयम् चिन्मयम् (यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा VIII-4-45);	चिद्वयम् became obsolete (प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यम्),
(c) आश्चर्यमनित्ये (VI-1-147) (not permanent, rare).	आश्चर्यमद्भुत इति वक्तव्यम् (wonderful).
(d) भोज्यं भक्ष्ये (VII-3-69) (applicable to the eating of solid alone).	भोज्यमभ्यवहार्यमिति वक्तव्यम् (applicable to the eating of solid and liquid).

(7) एकशेषनिर्देशाद्वा स्वरभिन्नानां भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*ibid* under अ अ VIII-4-68).

The words सुकृत् and भगवान् used to refer to *Pāṇini* speak volumes. *Kātyāyana* seems to admire the service rendered by *Pāṇini* and the great traits of his character.

When such is the case, it is not possible to think that they were contemporaries as is said in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and that *Kātyāyana* was an intelligent pupil and *Pāṇini* was an idiot under the *Ācārya Varṣa* and they respectively composed *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Vārttika* through *Śiva's* grace.¹ *Rāma-bhadra Dīkṣita*, in his *Patañjalīcarita* improves upon *Kathāsaritsāgara* by omitting to say that *Pāṇini* was an idiot and perhaps to emphasise the necessity for *Śeṣa's* *avatāra* as *Patañjali* makes both *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana* curse each other.²

1 Cf. अथ कालेन वर्षस्य शिष्यवर्गो महानभूत् ।

तत्रैकः पाणिनिर्नाम जडबुद्धितरोऽभवत् ॥ (4-20)

तत्र तत्रेण तपसा तोषितादिन्दुशेखरात् ।

सर्वविद्यामुखं तेन प्राप्तं व्याकरणं नवम् ॥ (4-22)

ततश्चागत्य मामेव वादायाह्वयते स्म सः ।

प्रवृत्ते चावयोर्वादे प्रयाताः सप्त वासराः ॥ (4-23)

अष्टमेऽहि मया तस्मिञ्जिते तत्समनन्तरम् ।

नभःस्थेन महाघोरो हुङ्कारश्शम्भुना कृतः ॥ (4-24)

तेन प्रणष्टमैन्द्रं तदस्मद्व्याकरणं भुवि ।

जिता पाणिनिना सर्वे मूर्खीभूता वयं पुनः ॥ (4-25)

अथ सज्जातनिर्वेदः स्वगृहस्थितये धनम् ।

हस्ते हिरण्यगुप्तस्य विधाय वणिजो निजम् ॥ (4-26)

उक्त्वा तच्चोपकोशायै गतवानस्मि शङ्करम् ।

तपोभिराराधयितुं निराहारो हिमालयम् ॥ (4-27)

आराधितो महादेवो वरदः पार्वतीपतिः ॥ (4-87)

तदेव तेन शास्त्रं मे पाणिनीयं प्रकाशितम् ।

तच्छिवानुग्रहादेव मया पूर्णोक्तं च तत् ॥ 4-88)

2 Cf. यस्मादविज्ञाय मम प्रभावं वृषध्वजानुग्रहभाजनस्य ।

सूत्रेष्वनुक्तोक्तदुरुक्तचिन्तावृथोद्यमं वार्तिकमातनिष्ठाः ॥ (I-67)

तस्मात्पतेदेव तनुस्तवेयम् इत्युद्धतं पाणिनिशापवाक्यम् ।

आकर्ण्य तूर्णं स विवृद्धमन्युः कात्यायनोऽपि प्रति तं शशाप ॥ (I-68)

भवानजानन् भगवत्प्रसादविवर्तभूतान्यपि वार्तिकानि ।

मह्यं यतः शापमदा मदेन ततो विशीर्येत तवापि मूर्धा ॥ (I-69)

Since in *Kathāsaritsūgara*, the stories are said to be narrated by *Kātyāyana* and since *Kātyāyana* was definitely known to have written *Vārttika* on *Pāṇini*'s work, the author may have thought it necessary that *Kātyāyana* should be shown as a precocious pupil, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, that he was able to write his work through *Śiva*'s grace and through *Śiva*'s intervention and grace *Kātyāyana* wrote the *Vārttika* on his work.

But at the same time we read the following statement regarding *Pāṇini* in pages 221 and 222 of the first volume of the book, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* by Thomas Watters:—

“Five hundred years after Buddha's decease, a great Arhat from Kashmir in his travels as an apostle arrived at this place (a tope in Po-lo-tu-lo). Here he saw a brahmin teacher chastising a young pupil; in reply to the Arhat's question, the teacher said he beat the boy for not making progress in Etymology... The Arhat answered, “This boy of yours is that rishi (*Pāṇini*).”

Since this story should have been current long before *Kathāsaritsūgara* was written, it may have been made use of, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, though, according to it, he was so in his next birth.

We may positively state that *Kātyāyana* lived long after *Pāṇini* from the following point:—There is a *vārttika* *Dravyā-bhidhānam vyāḍiḥ* (under I-2-64); *Patañjali* states शोभना खलु दाक्षायणेन सङ्ग्रहस्य कृतिः (under II-3-66), सङ्ग्रह एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम् (*Paspaśa*) and आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याडीयगौतमीयाः (under VI-2-36) and *Kathāsaritsūgara* says,

अध्यापयितुमस्मांश्च प्रवृत्तोभूदसौ ततः ।

सकृच्छ्रुतं मया तत्र द्विः श्रुतं व्याडिना तथा ॥ (II-79)

Since *Vyāḍi* is *Dākṣāyana* and he was a contemporary of *Kātyāyana*, *Kātyāyana* could not have been *Pāṇini*'s

contemporary, but should have lived at least 200⁶ years later than he.¹

KĀTYĀYANA'S BIRTHPLACE ETC.

Kātyāyana is said to have been born at *Kāuśāmbī*, to *Sōmadatta* and *Vasudattā* and educated under *Varṣa* at *Pāṭali-putra* and to have narrated the stories found in the *Kathā-saritsāgara* in the forests of the *Vindhya*s. He is also said to have been the minister of *Yōgānanda*.² Perhaps the *Vārttika Gahādīṣu prthivīmadhyasya madhyamabhāvaḥ* under IV-2-138 suggests that he is a *Madhyadēśīyu*. From *Patañjali*'s statement *priyataddhītā dākṣiṇātyāḥ* under *yathā lāukikavāidikēṣu* in *Paspasāhnika*, it is generally said that *Kātyāyana* was a Southerner and he was sneered at by *Patañjali*. R. G. Bhandarkar takes him to be a Southerner³ and Prof. Goldstucker says that he is one of the Eastern school.⁴ The reason therefor is that *Kātyāyana* is called *Ācārya* and *Patañjali*, *Ācārya-dēśīya* by *Kāiyāṭa* in his *Pradīpa* under *Yat-tadēlēbhyah parimāṇē vatup* (V-2-39) and *Patañjali* is taken by him to be identical with *Gōnardiya* in his *Pradīpa* under the *sūtra Ādyanta-vad ēkasmin* (I-1-21) and *Gōnārda* is in the eastern country and

1 Cf. कात्यायनपाणिन्योः शब्दशास्त्रपाठेन पाणिनिः कात्यायनात् पूर्वतनः इत्यनायासेनैव विज्ञायते, ततः कात्यायन एव पाणिनिकृतव्याकरणस्य वार्तिककारः स स्वग्रन्थे विदुषां वरं पाणिनिम् आचार्यत्वेन स्वीकृतवान् (*Sabdakalpadruma*)

2 कौशाम्ब्यां सोमदत्ताख्या नाम्नाऽग्निशिख इत्यपि ।

द्विजोऽभूत्तस्य भार्या च वसुदत्ताभिधाभवत् ॥

तस्यान्तस्माद्विजवरादेष जातोऽस्मि शपतः । (II-30-31)

... अस्ति पाटलिकं नाम पुरं नन्दस्य भूपतेः

तत्रास्ति चैको वर्षाख्यो विप्रस्तस्मादवाप्स्यथः ॥ (II-45-46)

कृत्वास्मानग्रतो न्येयुरूपविष्टः शुचौ भुवि ।

वर्षोपाध्याय ओङ्कारमकरोद्विष्यया गिरा ।

तदनन्तरमेवास्य वेदाः षडङ्गा उपस्थिताः ॥ (II-78-79)

इत्याख्याय कथां मध्ये विन्ध्यान्तः काणभूतये ।

पुनर्वररुचिस्तस्मै प्रकृतार्थमवर्णयत् ॥ (IV-1)

3 Cf. Indian Antiquary Vol. II p. 240.

4 *Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 182.

the *Kāśikā* gives under *Ēṇ prācām dēśē* (I-1-75) the example *Gōnardīya*. But it will be dealt with later on that it is not easy to decide that *Gōnardīya* refers only to *Patañjali*. If so, the theory that *Kātyāyana* belonged to eastern school may not stand. If it is stated that, because he is said in *Kathāsaritsāgara* to have studied under *Varṣa* at *Pāṭaliputra*, he may be taken to belong to the Eastern school, it is also stated there that he forgot the whole of *Āindra-Vyākaraṇa* which he studied under him. From the way¹ in which *Kātyāyana* explains many *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* as if each is an *adhikaraṇa* and the regard he has for *Pāṇini*, it is certain that he should have been an adherent of the *Pāṇinīyan* school and studied in the *madhyadēśa* near his birth-place *Kāuśāmbī*. Why he was stated to be a *Dākṣiṇātya* by *Patañjali* has to be explained. From the way in which he refers to *Kātyāyana* in many places of the *Mahābhāṣya*, it is clear that he holds him as a great seer who well supplemented *Pāṇini's sūtras*. This is a clear proof that *Patañjali* cannot be taken to have sneered at him. In that case we have to take it that he calls him a *Dākṣiṇātya* following some of the northern grammarians who might have described him in that way. Under the *sūtra* *Pañcadhā vipratipattiḥ dakṣiṇotah* I-1-2-1, of the *Bāudhāyana Dharma-sūtra*, the commentator says *Dakṣiṇēna Nārmadām uttarēṇa kanyātīrtham* and *Vātsyāyana*, in his *Kāmasūtra* makes mention of *Dākṣiṇātyānām* in II-6 46 and II-7-23 and *Bhartrhari* mentions *Dākṣiṇātyēṣu* in his *Vākyapadīya* and

1 तदाचार्यः सहृदूत्वा अन्वाचष्टे (M. B. under कालविभागे III-3-137 वोताप्योः III-3-141 अर्द्धायत् IV-3-4 and विस्ताच VI-1-31)

(a) आचार्येण प्रयोजनानि पठितानि (M. B. under ष्यङः VI-I-13)

(b) सुष्ठूच्यते अलोन्यस्य स्थाने विज्ञातस्यानुसंहार इतरथा ह्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गः (M. B. under अलोन्यस्य (I-1-52)

(c) पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः (M. B. under जनसनखनां सञ्चलोः VI-4-44)

(d) माङ्गलिक आचार्यः महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं सिद्धशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते ... पश्यति त्वाचार्यो मङ्गलार्थश्चैव सिद्धशब्द आदित प्रयुक्तो भविष्यति (M. B. under the first *vārttika* in *Paspaśa*.)

Dākṣiṇātya is generally taken by modern scholars to refer to the resident of *Dakṣiṇāpatha* or Deccan. *Pāṇini* gives the derivation of *Dākṣiṇātya* in IV-2-98 to denote only a Southerner. Therefore it is a matter for further consideration whether *Kātyāyana* is taken as a Southerner because he was so called by the residents of countries north of his place or on account of his having resided long in the forests of the *Vindhya*s

MERITS OF KĀTYĀYANA

In explaining *sūtras*, he adopts the method which is generally used in dealing with an *adhikaraṇa* by giving the *pūrvapakṣa*, answering the points raised and finally giving *siddhānta*. He also explains grammatical points on the analogy of incidents found in the world and mentioned in the *Vēdas*¹, from the experience of the world,² from nature, from *nyāyas* or maxims like

एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वम् (under I-5-56 and VII-3-85)

व्यपदेशिवद्वचनम् (under VI-1-1)

अपवादन्यायः (under I-3-9)

सम्बन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुल्यम् (under I-1-71)

and from *nyāyas* based on *Dharmaśāstra* like

गुरुवद्गुरुपुत्रे³ (under स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ I-1-56)

धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा (under सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ I-2-64) etc.

1 यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु (*Paspaśa* under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1., स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ I-1-56, and एकः पूर्वपरयोः VI-1-84).

2 यथा लोके under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य, VI-1-1 एकः पूर्वपरयोः VI-1-84 etc.
लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् (under अलोन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा I-1-65, आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी VI-2-36 etc.)

लोकविज्ञानाच्च सिद्ध्यति under समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले III-4-21 लोकवत् (under अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य VI-1-2).

3 Cf. *Gāutamadharmasūtra* I-2-37-8.

He is the author of the following *paribhāṣās*:—

(1) उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्वलीयसी (under II-3-19)
(Case-relation of a noun to the verb is stronger than that to another word in the sentence).

(2) प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (under IV-1-1)
(Mention of a stem includes the stem formed by adding the gender-affix to it).

(3) अनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणम् (under IV-1-15)
(Mention of one without *it* does not include the same with *it*).

(4) संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य (under I-1-39)
(Rule bringing out the combination of two things never destroys it.)

(5) यस्मिन्विधिस्तद्वादावग्रहणे (under I-1-72)
(If a letter in the locative case qualifies another word in the locative, the former should be taken as the initial letter of the latter).

He exclaims the authority of grammar that it enjoins the correct usage of words through such expressions as

साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन् (I-1-44)

सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य (under I-1-62)

वचनप्रामाण्यात् (under VIII-2-1)

This clearly shows the high regard *Kātyāyana* had towards *Pāṇini*.

He tells us that *Pāṇini* makes use of the *saṃjñā* from the previous grammar *Āpiśalam*¹ and mentions *Vājapyāyana*, *Vyāḍi*² and *Pāuṣkarasādi*³ who are not mentioned by *Pāṇini*.

He shows that, in certain cases, the *sūtras* may be split in a different way. From this he clearly informs us that they were studied in *Samhitā* form and they were taught how to

1 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलमधीत इति (under IV-1-14).

2 द्रव्याभिधानं व्याडिः (under I-2-64).

3 चयो द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादेः (under VIII-4-48).

split it into different *sūtras* by the teachers. Since *Kātyāyana* suggests *yōgavibhāga* in many places, it is quite possible that he should have lived long after the time of *Pāṇini*. His knowledge of Southern India made him modify *Kambōjālluk* (IV-1-175) into *Kambōjādibhyōluk* to include the Chola country.

He gives us room to infer from his statement *Sarvasya vā cētanāvattvāt* under the *sūtra Dhātōḥ karmaṇaḥ* ... (III-1-7) and *Kātyāyana's* commentary *Ātmādvāitadarśanēna* and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's* gloss सर्वत्र परिणामदर्शनेन चेतनाधिष्ठानं विना न च तदसम्भवात्सर्वस्य तदधिष्ठितत्वं ज्ञायते on the same, that he was an *advāitin* and his expression *vacanaprāmāṇyāt* under II-1-1 shows that he considered the *śabdapramāṇa* to be most powerful.

In the discussion on *Samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (II-1-1) there is a sentence *Vārttikakāravacanaprāmāṇyāt*. Its other reading is *vārttikavacanaprāmāṇyāt*.¹ *Uddyōtakāra* having taken the former reading says thus:—

न च वचनेत्यस्यापि वार्त्तिकत्वात् वार्त्तिककृता स्वीयवचसः कथं प्रमाणत्वे-
नाश्रयणमिति भाष्ये वार्त्तिकेत्याद्यनुपपन्नमिति वाच्यम्, अन्योऽयं वार्त्तिककारो
वार्त्तिककारान्तरीयैतद्वचनं प्रमाणान्तरत्वेनाश्रयतीत्यदोषात्.

But since *Siddham tu kvāṇi-svati-durgati-vacanāt prādyah ktārthaḥ* is found as a *vārttika* under the *sūtra Kuguliprādayaḥ* (II-2-18), the statement of *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* needs revision and it is better to take the second reading and to interpret that one *vārttika* mentioned elsewhere is stated in support of another *vārttika*. Hence it is not safe to infer that *Kātyāyana* referred to another *Vārttikakāra*.

Patañjali's statements *Vārttikasūtrikaḥ sāṅgrhasūtrikaḥ* and *Savārttikaḥ saśaṅgrahaḥ* under *Kratūklhādisūtrāntātṭhak* (IV-2-60) suggest that *Kātyāyana* and *Vyāḍi* were contemporaries, that they respectively wrote *Vārttika* and *Saṅgraha*, that *Pāṇini's* *sūtras* were studied along with *vārttikas* and

¹ Keilhorn's edition,

Sangraha and that *Patañjali* made use of both in his *Mahābhāṣya*.¹

The *vārttika*

नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्
under *Uṇādayō bahulam* (III-2-1) shows that the *Vārttikakāra* wrote his *vārttika* after *Yāska* wrote his *Nirukta*.

The *vārttika*

भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुज्यते
shows that the practice of doing *maṅgala* to see that one's work is completed without impediment was prevalent before *Vārttikakāra*'s time.

The *sūtra* *Eca igghrasvādēśē* (I-1-48) is found stated to be unnecessary by the *Vārttikakāra* on the strength of the point *Ēṇaḥ sasthānatvāt* and *Āicōścōttarabhūyastvāt*. Under the *sūtra* *Plutāvāica idutāu* (VIII-2-106) he gives the *vārttika* *Siddham tu idutōr dīrghavacanāt*. Since this is possible in the opinion of *Patañjali* only when *mātrāsvaṛṇasya mātrēvaṛṇōvaṛṇayōḥ*, *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that *Kātyāyana* is inconsistent.² It may be noted that it is the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya* that says

अकारार्धमैकारौकारयोरादिः (I-26)

इकारोध्यर्थः पूर्वस्य शेषः, उकारस्तूत्तरस्य (I-28)

while *Śuklayajurvedaprātiśākhya* says

ऐकारौकारयोः कण्ठ्या पूर्वा मात्रा तात्वोष्ठयोरुत्तरा I-73.

The *vārttikas* सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे and आदित्यवत्स्युः found in *Paspaśāhnika* and *Pratyāhārāhnika* have parallels in the *Jāiminīya sūtras* औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः (I-1-5) and आदित्यवद् यौगपद्यम् (I-1-15). These along with the *vārttika* आम्नायशब्दानामन्यभावं स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीदेशकालनियतत्वात् under V-2-59 suggest that it is possible that *Kātyāyana* lived after *Jāimini*.

1 सङ्ग्रहे एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं नित्यो वा स्यात् कार्यो वेति । तत्रोक्ता दोषाः प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि । तत्र त्वेष निर्णयो यद्येव नित्यो अथापि कार्य उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यमिति and सङ्ग्रहे तावत्कार्यप्रतिद्वन्दिभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणमिति (*Paspaśāhnika*).

2 एवञ्च वार्तिककारस्य पूर्वापरविरोधः (*Uddyōta* under VIII-2-106).

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About 8 *sūtras* like न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके, दीधीवेवीटाम्, नाज्झला, एच इग्रस्वादेशे are declared unnecessary by *Kātyāyana*. It has already been stated that *Kātyāyana* made his contribution to the *Gaṇapāṭha*. He was, perhaps, aware of the science of medicine since he says

तस्य निमित्तप्रकरणे वातपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः शमनकोपनयोरुपसङ्ख्यानम्
under V-1-38.

PATAÑJALI

HIS LIFE

Bhartr̥hari, in his *Vākyapadīya*, says that it is through grammar one learns the correct words, that the knowledge of grammar leads one to *Mōkṣa*, that grammarians became so lazy as to need short-cuts in grammar and that, consequently, the *saṅgraha* was not studied, that *Patañjali*, the great, composed the *Mahābhāṣya* bristling with the worldly maxims, that its study became limited to a narrow circle, that it existed in a book-form among *Dākṣiṇātyas*, that the *Ācārya Candra*, at the request of *Abhimanyu*, the king of *Kashmir*, learnt it under *Parvata*, and popularised its study in *Kashmir*.¹ He suggests that *Patañjali* was the author of

1 तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृते । (*Vākyapadīya* I-13.)

तद्वारमपवर्गस्य वाङ्मलानां चिकित्सितम् । *ibid* I-14.

प्रायेण सङ्क्षेपरूचीनरूपविद्यापरिग्रहान् ।

सम्प्राप्य वैयाकरणान् सङ्गृहेऽस्तमुपागते ॥ *ibid* II-484.

कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।

सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने *ibid* II-485.

यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागमः ।

काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥ *ibid* II-488.

पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।

स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः *ibid* II-489.

आविर्बभूवाभिमन्युः शतमन्युरिवापरः । (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*) I-174.)

चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वादेशं तस्मात्तदागमम् ।

प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यं खं च व्याकरणं कृतम् ॥ *ibid* I-176.

Abhimanyu lived about 100 B. C. (Dr. Otto Boetlingk); he lived between 40 and 65 A. D. (Professor Lassen.)

treatises on *Yōga* and medicine¹ and others express it plainly.² But there are also others who think that *Patañjali*, the author of the *Yōgasūtra*, is different from *Patañjali*, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*.³

I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, writes "There is a commentary on the *vr̥tti-sūtra* entitled *cūrṇi* containing 24,000 slokas. It is a work of the learned *Patañjali*. This again cites the former sūtras (*Pāṇini*) explaining the obscure points and analysing the principles contained in it and it illustrates the later commentary (*vr̥tti*) clearing up many difficulties. Advanced scholars learn it in three years."⁴

1 कायवागबुद्धिविषया ये मलास्समवस्थिताः ।

चिकित्सालक्षणाध्यात्मशास्त्रैस्तेषां विशुद्ध्यः ॥ (*Vākyapadīya* I-148).

2 पातञ्जलमहाभाष्यचरकप्रतिसंस्कृतैः ।

मनोवाक्कायदोषाणां हर्त्रेऽहिपतये नमः ॥ (*Carakasamhitā—cakradattavyākhyā* I-1.)

अनन्तश्चिन्तयामास रोगोपशमकारणम् ।

सञ्चिन्त्य स स्वयं तत्र मुनेः पुत्रो बभूव ह ॥

यतश्चर इवायातो न ज्ञातः केनचिद्यतः ।

तस्माच्चरकनाम्नासौ ख्यातश्च क्षातिमण्डले ॥

आत्रेयस्य मुनेः शिष्या अग्निवेशादयोऽभवन् ।

मुनयो बहवस्तैश्च कृतं तन्त्रं स्वकं स्वकम् ॥

तेषां तन्त्राणि संस्कृत्य समाहृत्य विपश्चिता ।

चरकेणात्मनो नाम्ना ग्रन्थोऽयं चरकः कृतः ॥ (*Bhāvaprakāśa* in the introduction to *Hēmarāja's Kāśyapasaṃhitā*).

आप्तो नाम अनुभवेन वस्तुतत्त्वस्य कार्त्स्न्येन निश्चयवान् ।

रागादिवशादपि नान्यथावादी यः स इति चरके पतञ्जलिः (*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* in *Vāiyā-kuraṇasiddhāntamañjūṣā* p. 12.)

योगसूत्रे पतञ्जल्युक्तेः (*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* in the last *adhikaraṇa* of *Paspaśa* in *Mahābhāṣya*).

3 अयं च योगशास्त्रकारकाद् भिन्न इति सरलायामस्माभिस्समर्थितम् ।

अनयोरभेद इति पाश्चात्यवैयाकरणाः (*Vācaspatya*.)

केषांचिन्मते योगसूत्रकारकपतञ्जलेर्भाष्यकृत् पतञ्जलिर्भिन्न एव ।

अनयोरभेदतां तु निर्दिशन्ति पाश्चात्याः (*Śabdakalpadruma*).

सूत्राणि योगशास्त्रे वैद्यकशास्त्रे च वार्तिकानि ततः

कृत्वा पतञ्जलिमुनिः प्रचारयामास जगदिदं त्रातुम् (*Patañjalicarita* by *Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita* V-25).

4 Cf. A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing and translated by J. Takakusu p. 178. Prof. Max-Muller points out that *Patañjali* is called *cūrṇikṛt* or *cūrṇikāra* by *Bhartṛhari*.

Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, in his *Patañjalicarita* says thus:—*Gōṇikā*, the daughter of a *muni*, gave *arghya* to Sun-God praying for a son. *Śēṣa*, the lord of serpents, fell in her hand in the form of a sage. He then prayed to *Śiva* at Chidambaram to enable him to write a *bhāṣya* on the *vārttikas* of *Kātyāyana*. He granted it; thousands of pupils went to him to learn his *bhāṣya*. He agreed to teach them on condition that he would hang a curtain between him and them and they should never meddle with it. So did the instruction go for some time. Once wondering at the way he answered their questions, they threw aside the curtain. He cursed them at once. One of them was then absent. Though he was cursed for having gone away in the middle without performing *uttaraśānti*, he, after his repeated request, was informed that he would be freed from the effect of the curse after teaching *Mahābhāṣya* to him who would answer correctly that the past passive participle of *pac* is *pakva*. *Candragupta* who came from *Ujjayinī* gave him the answer and he was taught the work. His son by a *śūdra* wife was *Bhartṛhari*. He wrote *Vākyapadīya*, *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and the *śatakas* of *nīti*, *śṛṅgāra* and *vairāgya*.¹ *Kāiyāṭa* takes the epithet *Gōṇardīya* to refer to

1 तत्र कापि ददृशे मुनिकन्या गोणिकेति गुणसिन्धुरनेन । (*Patañjali carita* II-7).

सम्भृतार्थजलमञ्जलिमुच्चैः साहस्रकिरणं प्रति देवम् ।

यावदुत्क्षिपति तावदमुष्मात्तापसाकृतिरहिः स पपात ॥ (II-11).

वचसि स्तुतिभिश्च सङ्गतं परितुष्यन्प्रभुरब्रवीदिदम् ।

तपसा तव शेष तोषितो वितारिष्यन्वरमागतोऽस्मि ते ॥ (III-24-25).

पदवार्तिकभाष्यनिर्मितौ प्रथमं पाठवमभ्ययाचत ॥ (III-26).

जगदुपकृतये चकार भाष्यं महदचिरेण पतञ्जलिमहात्मा ॥ (V-3).

तमृषिमनुयुस्तदीयभाष्यं पिपठिषवः किल पण्डिताः सहस्रम् । (V-4).

तदनु यवनिकां वितत्य गूढं वपुरनया च पतञ्जलिर्विधाय ।

उपविशत बहिस्तिरस्करिण्याः पठत कृतिं च ममेति तानुवाच ॥ (V-5).

मम स तु न भवेन्मनः प्रियो मां य इह तिरस्करिणीमुदस्य पश्येत् ।

इति पुनरभिधाय पाठनार्थं फणिपतिरूपमृषिः समाललम्बे ॥ (V-6).

अथ फणिकृतिन्तावदेव पेटुः विलसति यावति वासरूपसूत्रम् । (V-14).

प्रतिपुरुषमिहाननैः ... वदतीति विस्मयेन ।

अपहृतमनसोऽथ तेऽपनिन्युः सपदि तिरस्करिणीं तदीक्षणाय ॥ (V-15).

*Patañjali*¹ and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* mentions that *Gōṇikāputra* was taken to refer to *Patañjali*.² The word *Gōṇardīya*, *Haridīkṣita* says in *Brhacchabdaratna*, refers to *Vārttikakāra*. It occurs four times in the *Mahābhāṣya*:—under the *sūtras* *Ādyantavad ēkasmin* (I-1-21), *Na bahuvrīhāu* (I-1-29), *Tatrōpapadam saptamīstham* (III-1-92) and *Jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām* (VII-2-101).

In the first case when it is said that *ādyantavadbhāva* need not be mentioned in the *vārttika* *Apūrvānuttaralakṣaṇa-tvādyantayōḥ siddham ēkasmin*, the expression *Gōṇardīyastvāha* ‘*Satyam ētat sati tvanyasminniti.*’ ‘*Sati tvanyasmin...*’ is the first *vārttika* under the *sūtra*. Hence the *vārttika* ‘*Apūrvā.....*’ should be taken to belong to one who is other than the author of the *vārttika* “*Sati tu...*” If the first *vārttika* belongs to *Kātyāyana*, *Gōṇardīya* should refer to him alone. If the *vārttika* ‘*Apūrvā...*’ is taken to belong to him, *Gōṇardīya* should refer to another *Vārttikakāra*. A doubt may arise whether *Patañjali* quotes any *vārttika* belonging to any *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana* at the commencement of discussion on any *sūtra*. The *vārttika*

स्वादिविधिः पुरान्ते यद्यविशेषण किं कृतं भवति ।

न स्मपुराद्यतन इति ब्रुवता कात्यायनेनेह ॥ under the *sūtra*

फणिपतिराभिवीक्ष्य तादृशांस्तान् कथमिदमित्यनुचिन्त्य यावदास्त ।

परिसरमुपसृत्य तावदेकः प्रणतमौलिरिदं भयादवादीत् ॥ (V-18).

फणिवर भगवन्प्रसीद मय्यं बहिरगमं जलमोचनाय यावत् ।

विधुतयवनिकाः कृतापराधा वत मम तावदिति स्थिताः सतीर्थ्याः ॥ (V-19).

इति गदितगिरं शशाप कोपात् यदविहितोत्तरशान्तिमन्त्रपाठः ।

बहिरसि गतवान् पठन्मदीयां कृतिमपि तद्भव राक्षसोऽञ्जसेति ॥ (V-20).

निष्ठायां किं रूपं पचेरिति त्वं बुधात् पृच्छ ।

पक्वमिति वदति यस्तं मम कृतिमध्याप्य मुच्यसे शापात् ॥

इति कथयति रक्षसि प्रहृष्यन् इदमग्रहीदस्मि चन्द्रगुप्तः ।

उपगम इह मे यमुज्जयिन्याः पठितुमहीश्वरभाष्यमन्तिके ते ॥ (V-31) etc.

1 गोणदीयस्त्वाह—भाष्यकारस्त्वाह (M. B. under आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् I-1-29).

2 गोणिकापुत्रः—भाष्यकार इत्याहुः (M. B. under अकथितं च I-4-52.)

Laṭ smē seems to belong to the *Ślōkavārttikakāra*, since mention is made here of *Kātyāyana*. In any case it seems that it cannot refer to *Bhāṣyakāra*. In the second case when it is said that, on the authority of the *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu*, only the forms *tvatkapitṛkaḥ* and *matkapitṛkaḥ* can be taken to be correct, we find *Gōnardīyastvāha* “*Akacsvarāu tu kartavyāu pratyāṅgam muktasañcayāu*.” Here too it is better to take *Gōnardīya* to refer to *Kātyāyana* or another *Vārttikakāra*. It deserves to be noted that the author of the *Kāśikā* has not mentioned the forms *tvakatpitṛkaḥ* and *makatpitṛkaḥ* and consequently has not recognised the statement *Akacsvarāu tu kartavyāu pratyāṅgam muktasañcayāu*, which gives room to infer that *Gōnardīya* here may refer to a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana*.

In the third case when it is said that there will be no authority sanctioning the correctness of the word काशकटीकारम् in the sentence *Iccāmyaham kāśakatīkārām* we find *Iṣṭam ēva ētad Gōnardīyasya*. Here too there is no harm if *Gōnardīya* is taken to refer to a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana* and not to *Bhāṣyakāra*.

In the fourth case when it is said that the form *atijaram* and *atijarāḥ* have no authority sanctioning their correctness, it is said गोनर्दीय आह ‘इष्टमेवैतत् संगृहीतं भवति’. Here too the same thing may hold good as in the third case.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems to me that *Gōnardīya* refers to a *Vārttikakāra* of the Eastern school.

There is another argument also which may lend support to this. *Vātsyāyana*, in his *Kāmasūtra*, quotes *Gōnardīya* on five occasions and *Gōṇikāputra* on eight occasions. On one such occasion while dealing with the number of *nāyikās* he says

अन्यकारणवशात् परपरिगृहीतापि पाक्षिकी चतुर्थीति गोणिकापुत्रः I-5-5.
उक्तान्तवालभावाकुलयुवतिरूपचारान्यत्वात् अष्टमीति गोनर्दीयः I-5-25.

When the number of *nāyikās* according to *Gōṇikāputra* is four and that, according to *Gōṇardīya*, it is eight, it is not possible for both to be one and the same person. It then follows that both the epithets cannot refer to one person, *Patañjali*. Besides it is not generally known that *Patañjali* wrote any treatise on *Kāmaśāstra*. It is safer therefore to conclude that both *Gōṇikāputra* and *Gōṇardīya* do not refer to him.

If it is decided that *Gōṇardīya* does not refer to *Patañjali*, the statement that he is an Eastern grammarian¹ cannot stand, as also the statement that *Kātyāyana* also belonged to the Eastern country. *Parbhatacandra Cakravarti*'s opinion that he is a Southerner² needs revision. There are strong reasons to believe that *Patañjali* should have studied under the pupil-descendants of *Kātyāyana*.

It has already been stated that many *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* are discussed by *Kātyāyana* in the form of *adhikaraṇas*. To decide which of the *vārttikas* are *pūrvapakṣīya* and which of them are *siddhāntīya* is not very easy. It can be easily done if it was handed down from teacher to pupil. In many places *Kātyāyana* states यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु, यथा लोके, लोकवत्, लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धम्, स्वभावसिद्धत्वात्, धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा etc. Unless it was handed down from teacher to pupil, the applications of the above statements can hardly be easily known. A cursory study of *Mahābhāṣya* would convince any one that *Patañjali* should have studied under *Kātyāyana*'s disciples or their disciples.

His range of personal knowledge of geography of India extends to Kashmir on the north,³ *Pāṭaliputra* in the east⁴

1 Cf. *Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 181.

2 Cf. The Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. II p. 268.

3 कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सक्तून् पास्यामः । अभिजानासि देवदत्त, कश्मीरानगच्छाम, तत्र सक्तून्पिबाम (M. B. under विभाषा साकाङ्क्षे III-2-114).

4 कश्चित् पाटलिपुत्रं जिगमिषुरेकमहर्गत्वाऽऽह इदमय गतमिति (M. B. under निष्ठा III-2-102).

and Ujjain on the south.¹ He mentions that *Śivapura* is a village in the northern country, that *Kāstīra*, *Dāsarūpya*, *Śākala*, *Śāusuka*, *Pātālaprastha*, *Nāndīpūra*, and *Kāukkuṭivaha* are villages in *Vāhika*; ² *Śāṅkāśya* which he mentions there is 45 miles north-west of *Kānyakubja*. *Kāmpilya* also is a place near to it. He states that the distance from *Gavīdhumān* to *Śāṅkāśya* is four *yōjanas*; ³ *Gavīdhumān* is modern Kundarkot. *Śaurya* and *Jāmbava* are two cities and *Kētavatā* and *Sālūkinī* are two villages mentioned under the *sūtra Viśiṣṭalingō nadī-dēśōsgrāmāḥ* 11-4-7. *Srughna*⁴ also is a village. *Mathurā*,⁵ *Sākēta*,⁶ *Kānyakubja*,⁷ *Hastināpura*,⁸ *Vārāṇāsī*⁹ are the cities which are mentioned by him. Most of them are in *Madhyadēśa*. The word *Niṣkāuśāmbiḥ*¹⁰ is used more than once; *Kāuśāmbī* is an old village on the left bank of the Jumna about 30 miles to the west of the Allahabad.¹¹ The two

कश्चित् पाटलिपुत्रं जिगमिषुराह योऽयमध्वा गन्तव्य आपाटलिपुत्रादेतस्मिन् कूपो भविष्यति
(M. B. under III-3-133) etc.

पाटलिपुत्रस्य व्याख्यानी सुकोसलेति ... पाटलिपुत्रं चास्मा अवयवश आचष्टे ईदृशा अस्य
प्राकारा ईदृशा अस्य प्रासादा इति (M. B. under IV-3-66).

आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः (M. B. under II-4-83.)

अनुशोणं पाटलिपुत्रम् (M. B. under II-1-16).

पाटलिपुत्रादागच्छामि (M. B. under II-3-28).

1 उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयते (M. B. under हेतुमति च III-2-26)

2 M. B. under अवयवात्तयप् (IV-2-104).

3 M. B. under *Apādānē pañcamī* (II-3-28).

4 अयं पन्थाः सुग्रासुपतिष्ठते (M. B. under उपान्मन्त्रकरणे I-3-25).

5 M. B. under the *sūtras* ऋलृक्, गाङ्गुटादिभ्योऽङ्गिण्डित् (I-2-1) etc.

6 *Ayam panthāḥ sākētam upatiṣṭhatē* (ibid).

7 *Kānyakubji* (M. B. under *Gōtrāvayavāt* IV-1-79).

8 *Anugaṅgam hāstinapuram* (M. B. under *Yasya cāyāmaḥ* II-1-16).

9 *Anugaṅgam vārāṇasī* (ibid).

10 *Niṣkrāntaḥ kāuśāmbīyāḥ nikāuśāmbiḥ* under *sūtras Kugatiprādayaḥ*
(II-2-18), *Ākaḍārādēkā samjñā* (I-4-1) etc.

11 Geographical Dictionary by Dey.

villages *Kētavatā* and *Śālūkinī* are perhaps near *Kāuśāmbī*. The rivers that he mentions are the Gangés, the Jumna, the *Sōn* and the *Rathasyā*. The word *Kāñcīpuraka* is used under the *sūtra* *Avyayālttyap*; it means the resident of *Kāñcīpura*. If this refers to the present city under that name in the Madras Presidency, it seems that it is the only city in Dekhan that is mentioned by him. The provinces that he refers to are *Gāndhāra*,¹ *Kāśmīra*,² *Pañcanada*,³ *Avantī*,⁴ *Kuntī*,⁵ *Kurū*,⁶ *Madra*,⁷ *Pāñcāla*,⁸ *Vidēha*,⁹ *Kōsala*,¹⁰ *Kāśī*,¹¹ *Vidarbha*,¹² *Aṅga*,¹³ *Vaṅga*,¹⁴ *Trigarta*,¹⁵ *Surāṣṭra*, *Kāmbōja*¹⁶ and *Kērala*.¹⁷

Patañjali tells us that brahman women studied the grammars of *Āpiśala* and *Kāśakṛtsna*¹⁸ and a cave was called *Kiṣkindhā*.¹⁹

Patañjali's knowledge of medicine is seen from the following:—

(1) दधिन्नपुसं प्रत्यक्षो ज्वरः नङ्गलोदकं पादरोगः आयुर्वै घृतम्
(M. B. under I-1-58 and VI-1-32).

1 *Gāndhāri* (M. B. under IV-1-14).

2 *Kāśmīrarājāḥ* (M. B. under IV-1-1).

3 पञ्चानां नदीनां समाहारः (*ibid* under IV-1-88).

पार्थः पञ्चनदे देशे बहुधान्यधनान्विते ।

चक्रार वासं सर्वस्य जनस्य मुनिसत्तम ॥ (*Viṣṇupurāṇa* V-38-12).

4, 5 & 6 (M. B. under I-2-49).

7 *Madrarājāḥ* (M. B. under IV-1-1).

8 *Pañcālāmścarati* (M. B. under III-2-16).

9 *Vāidēhaḥ* (M. B. under I-4-1).

10 & 11 *Kāśīkōsaliyāḥ* (M. B. under IV-1-54).

12 *Vāidarbhāḥ* (M. B. under I-4-1).

13 & 14 *Āṅgakaḥ*, *Vāṅgakaḥ* (M. B. under IV-3-120).

15 *Paritrigartam vṛṣṭō dēvaḥ* (M. B. under VIII-1-5).

16 Cf. *Paspaśāhnika*.

17 M. B. under *Kambōjālluk*.

18 अपिशलमधीते ब्राह्मणी — आपिशला ब्राह्मणी ... काशकृत्स्नमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी
(M. B. under IV-1-13).

19 M. B. under VI-1-157.

(2) मूत्राय कल्पते यवागूः उच्चाराय कल्पते यवान्नम् (M. B. under II-3-13).

(3) अतीसारो व्याधिः (M. B. under III-3-17).

His knowledge of architecture is seen from the following :—

(1) कृतश्मश्रुश्च पुनः श्मश्रूणि कारयति (M. B. under V[-1-127).

(2) शिल्पिविशेषाद्वा (M. B. under I-2-9).

(3) शिल्पिनः उत्पादयमानाः द्रव्यान्तरेण प्रक्षालयन्ति (M. B. under V-3-55).

His wide knowledge of the world is patent from the following :—

(1) कश्चित् कान्तारे समुपस्थिते सार्थमुपादत्ते; स यदा निष्कान्त-
कान्तारो भवति तदा सार्थं जहाति (M. B. under I-1-74).

(2) पाञ्चाला जनपदः सुभिक्षः सम्पन्नपानीयः बहुमाल्यफलः
(*ibid* I-2-52).

(3) बदरी सूक्ष्मकण्टका मधुरा वृक्षः (*ibid*).

(4) समाने रक्ते वर्णे गौर्लोहित इति भवति अश्वः शोण इति;
समाने च काले वर्णे गौः कृष्ण इति भवति अश्वो हेम इति; समाने च शुक्ले
वर्णे गौः श्वेत इति भवति अश्वः कर्क इति (*ibid* I-2-71) and (II-2-29).

(5) गावः उत्कालितपुंस्का वाहाय च विक्रयाय च (*ibid*).

(6) सङ्काश्यकेभ्यः पाटलिपुत्रका अभिरूपतराः (*ibid* I-3-11 etc).

(7) योऽयं दुर्वलः सन् बलवद्भिः सह भारं वहति (*ibid*).

(8) साङ्केश्यकेभ्यश्च पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्यश्च माथुरा अभिरूपतराः (*ibid*
V-3-57)

(9) ग्रामादागच्छन् कांस्यपात्र्यां पाणिनौदनं भुङ्क्ते (*ibid* I-4-24).

(10) गोमयादृश्चिको जायते, गोलोमाविलोमभ्यो दूर्वा जायन्ते (*ibid*
I-4-30).

(11) कश्चित् कञ्चिदामन्त्रयते 'सिद्धं भुज्यताम्' इति । स आमन्त्र्य-
माण आह 'प्रभूतं भुक्तमस्माभिः' इति । आमन्त्रयमाण आह 'दधि खलु
भविष्यति, पयः खलु भविष्यति' इति । आमन्त्रयमाण आह 'दध्ना खलु भुञ्जीय
पयसा खलु भुञ्जीय' इति (*ibid* I-4-49).

(12) इह य एष मनुष्यो दुःखार्तो भवति सोऽन्यानि दुःखान्यनुनिशम्य
(विषभक्षणमेव ज्यायो मन्यते । (*ibid* I-4-50).

(13) भिक्षुकोऽयं द्वितीयां भिक्षां समासाद्य पूर्वां न जहाति, सञ्चयायैव प्रवर्तते (*ibid* II-1-1).

(14) अवतत्ते नकुला न चिरं स्थातारो भवन्ति (*ibid* II-1-47).

(15) लोहितशालिमान् ग्रामः (*ibid* II-1-68).

(16) सर्वे मनुष्या अल्पेनाल्पेन महतो महतोऽर्थानाकाङ्क्षन्ति, एकेन माषेण शतसहस्रम् (*ibid*).

(17) समानमीहमानानाञ्चाधीयानानां च केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते अपरे न (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.).

(18) कील आहन्यमानः प्रतिकीलं निर्हन्ति (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.).

(19) खं नाम चतुर्भिरेतत्प्रकारैर्भवति — कयणादपदहरणाद्याच्चाया विनिमयादिति (*ibid* II-3-50).

(20) अनस्थिकाः क्षुद्रजन्तवः । अथवा येषां खं शोणितं नास्ति ते क्षुद्रजन्तवः etc. (*ibid* II-4-8).

(21) य एते दासाः कर्मकरा नाम, तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते, भक्तं चैलं च लप्स्यामहे परिभाषाश्च न नो भविष्यन्ति इति । तथा य एते शिल्पिनो नाम तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते वेतनं च लप्स्यामहे, मित्राणि च नो भविष्यन्ति इति (*ibid* III-1-26).

(22) शयाना वर्द्धते दूर्वा, ... आसीनं वर्द्धते विसम् (*ibid* III-2-126).

(23) कश्चिदन्नार्थी शालिकलापं सतुषं सपलालमाहरति नान्तरीय-कत्वात् । स यावदादयम् तावदादाय तुषपलालान्युत्सृजति (*ibid* III-3-18).

(24) भोगवानयं देश इत्युच्यते यस्मिन् गावः सस्यानि च वर्तन्ते (*ibid* V-1-9).

(25) अश्वोऽयं यश्चत्वारि योजनानि गच्छति, अश्वतरोऽयं योऽष्टौ योजनानि गच्छति (*ibid* V-3-55).

(26) इह समाने आयामे विस्तारे च पटस्य अन्योऽर्धो भवति काशिकस्य अन्यो माथुरस्य (*ibid*).

(27) पटुरयं ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यो लघुनोपायेनार्थान् साधयति, पटुकल्पोऽयमित्युच्यते यो न तथा साधयति (*ibid* V-3-67).

(28) लोके ईश्वर आज्ञापयति ! ग्रामाद्ग्रामान्मनुष्या आनीयन्तां प्राग्गङ्गं ग्रामेभ्यो ब्राह्मणा आनीयन्तामिति येषु तत्र ग्रामेषु ब्राह्मणा न सन्ति न तर्हीदानीं ततोऽन्यस्यानयनं भवति । (*ibid* VI-1-2).

(29) क्षीरोदके संपृक्ते आमिश्रत्वान्न ज्ञायते कियत्क्षीरं कियदुदकम् इति, कस्मिन्वावकाशे क्षीरं कस्मिन्नवकाशे उदकमिति, एवमिहाप्यामिश्रत्वान्न

ज्ञायेत का प्रकृतिः कः प्रत्ययः, कस्मिन्वावकाशे प्रकृतिः कस्मिन्नवकाशे प्रत्यय इति (*ibid* VI-1-9).

(30) लोके यो द्वयोस्तुल्यबलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करोति; यदा तु तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतो नानादिभ्यु च कार्यं भवतस्तत्र यद्यसावविरोधार्थी भवति, तत उभयोर्न करोति (*ibid* VI-1-85).

(31) शतधारोऽयं मणिः (*ibid* VI-1-115).

(32) कश्चित् कंचित् तन्तुवायमाह 'अस्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वय' (*ibid* II-1-51 etc.).

(33) गुरुणा शिष्यच्छत्रवच्छाद्यः शिष्येण च गुरुच्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः (*ibid* IV-4-62).

(34) य आशु कर्तव्यानर्थान्श्चिरेण करोति स उच्यते शीतक इति, यः पुनराशु कर्तव्यानर्थान्नाश्वेव करोति स उच्यते उष्णक इति (*ibid* V-2-72).

(35) नटानां स्त्रियो रङ्गगता यो यः पृच्छति कस्य यूयं कस्य यूयमिति तं तं तव तवेत्याहुः (*ibid* VI-1-2).

(36) अब्राह्मणमानय इत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणसदृश एवानीयते, नासौ लोष्टमानीय कर्ता भवति (*ibid* III-1-12 etc.).

(37) हरिद्रौ कुकुटस्य पादौ, काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ (*ibid* IV-2-2).

(38) अकुपिता अपि दृश्यन्ते दारकान्भर्त्सयमानः (*ibid* VIII-1-8).

(39) द्वयो रक्तयोर्वह्नयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते (*ibid* I-2-30).

(40) वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायातिलोहिनी ।

पीता भवति सस्याय दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥ (*ibid* II-3-13).

The following *nyāyas* and their applications also bear testimony to his knowledge of the world :—

(1) फलवता च नाम प्रयत्नेन भवितव्यम् (*Paspaśa*).
(Attempt should have its reward).

(2) यच्च पुनरशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं नैव तद्दोषाय नाभ्युदयाय (*ibid*).
(That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited brings neither de-merit if not done, nor merit if done).

(3) आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः¹ (*ibid* M. B. under VIII-2-3).

(Mango trees are watered and the manes are satisfied).

¹ वृक्षाः is another reading. *Pradīpa* under (VII-1-18).

(4) योऽस्ति स भविष्यति (M. B. under अइउण्).
(That which exists in this world will make its appearance).

(5) समाने चार्थे शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्राचितस्य निवर्तको भवति (*ibid* under ऋलृक्).

(Though both convey the same meaning, the grammatically correct word enables us to avoid the use of the incorrect one).

(6) सैषा महतो वंशस्तम्बाल्लुट्ठाकृष्यते (*ibid*).

(This is like catching a tiny bird from a cluster of tall bamboos).

(7) यत्र क्रियमाणे न दोषस्तत्र कर्तव्यम् (M. B. under एओङ् etc.)
(Operation should take place where arises no harm).

(8) ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तां माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेषिताताम् (*ibid* under ह्यवरट्).

(Let brahmans be fed and let *Māthara* and *Kāuṇḍinya* serve).

(9) इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते (*ibid* under I-1-1).
(Two inter-dependent things never happen).

(10) अतज्जातीयकं लोके व्यवधायकं भवति (*ibid* under I-1 7).
(Only a dissimilar thing can separate two similar things in the world).

(11) प्रासादवासिन्यायः (*ibid* under I-1-8).
(The *nyāya* of the resident on the top-floor. (i. e.) The resident of both the top-floor and the ground-floor will be included both among the residents of the top-floor and among those of the ground-floor).

(12) न हि भिक्षुकास्सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिशीयन्ते, न च मृगास्सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते (*ibid* I-1-41, IV-1-1 and VI-1-13).
(Cooking is not avoided fearing the beggars nor is *yava* not sown fearing animals).

(13) दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां, तक्रं कौण्डिन्याय (*ibid* I-1-47, VI-1-2, VI-4-165 and VII-1-72).
(Let curd be given to brahmans and butter-milk to *Kāuṇḍinya*).

(14) नष्टाश्वदग्धरथन्यायः (*ibid* I-1-51).
(The *nyāya* of the dead horse and the burnt chariot:—when two chariots go on a race and if the horse of one falls dead

and the other chariot is burnt down, the horse of the one chariot is yoked to the other unburnt chariot).

(15) माषा न भोक्तव्या इत्युक्ते मिश्रा अपि न भुज्यन्ते (*ibid*).

(If it is enjoined that black gram should not be eaten, the mixture of black gram with others too is not eaten).

(16) यो यस्य प्रसङ्गे भवति, लभते असौ तत्कार्याणि (*ibid* I-1-56).

(The acting man gets the work of the permanent man).

(17) सामान्ये अतिदिश्यमाने विशेषो नातिदिष्टो भवति (*ibid*).

(Application of general characteristics through analogy does not comprehend the special characteristics).

(18) अभ्यन्तरो हि समुदायस्यावयवः (*ibid*).

(Part is included in the whole).

(19) एकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम् (*ibid* I-1-59).

(Strike two birds at one shot).

(20) अपि काकः श्येनायते ? (*ibid* I-2-45).

(Can a crow become a kite ?)

(21) आम्नान् पृष्टः कोविदारानाचष्टे (*ibid*).

(Being questioned about a square, you answer about a circle).

(22) न हि गोधा सर्पन्ती सर्पणादहिर्भवति (*ibid* I-3-12).

(Can a lizard become a serpent though with similar movement ?)

(23) अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति यं समुदायं योऽवयवो न व्यभिचरति (*ibid* I-3-62 and III-1-5).

(Mark in a limb becomes a differentiating factor of the whole if that limb is an indispensable element of the whole).

(24) कृतो घटः घटाश्रयाणां कार्याणां निमित्तं भवति, न क्रियमाणः (*ibid* III-1-3).

(Pot made is the source of deeds relating to a pot and not a pot to be made).

(25) सन्नियोगशिष्टानामन्यतराप्राये उभयोरप्यप्रायः (*ibid* IV-1-36 and V-1-66).

(Injunction to two conjointly loses its hold when either disappears).

(26) यो हि भुक्तवन्तं व्रूयान्मा भुक्त्वा इति किं तेन कृतं स्यात्? (*ibid* VI-1-37).

(What is the use of asking one not to eat when he has already eaten?)

(27) कुम्भीधान्यन्यायः (*ibid* I-3-7).

(*Nyāya* of pot-grain—‘He who has grain only in a pot can be called कुम्भीधान्य and not one who has grain elsewhere also).

(28) दण्डिन्यायः (*ibid* VIII-2-83).

(*Nyāya* of man with a stick—whenever the man is referred to, he should have a stick in his hand).

(29) अभिवर्धमानो गर्भः सर्वाङ्गपरिपूर्णो भवति (*ibid* VIII-2-106).

(Embryo, when it grows, grows on all sides).

Patañjali has also been pleased to frame and use the following *paribhāṣās* :—

(1) व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् (*Paspaśa* etc.)

(A *śāstraic* statement, if not clearly understood, should not be thrown away, but should be understood through commentaries).

(2) असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (M. B. under एओङ् etc.)

(*Bahiraṅgaśāstra* is non-existent before an *antaraṅgaśāstra*).

(3) निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति (*ibid* ह्यचरट्).

(*Adēśas* replace only those that are mentioned).

(4) कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I-1-5).

(*Samjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* appear on the scene of operation).

(5) यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I-1-11).

(*Samjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* operate without leaving their respective position).

(6) लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् (*ibid* I-1-14 etc.)

(Word mentioned has preference to word got from *lukṣaṇa*).

(7) अर्थवद्ग्रहणेन नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् (*ibid*).

(If one conveys meaning in one way of interpretation and no meaning in another, the former has preference).

(8) गौणमुख्ययोः मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्ययः (*ibid* I-1-1-15).

(Operation should take place on the primary and not on the secondary one.)

(9) अर्थात् प्रकरणाद्वा कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसम्प्रत्ययः (*ibid* I-1-23 etc.)

Action to proceed on the *krtrima* (newly made) and not on *akrtrima* (natural) decided through meaning or context.)

(10) पुरस्तादपवादाः अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् (*ibid* I-1-28).

(Rules of exceptions mentioned previously affect those that immediately follow them and not those which are further away).

(11) अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गे विधिर्बाधते (*ibid* I-1-29).

(*Bahiraṅga* rules sometimes overrule *antaraṅga* rules).

(12) भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न (*ibid* I-1-50 etc.)

A letter taught in a rule cannot refer to those homogeneous with it.)

(13) स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् (*ibid* I-1-51).

(Consonant is non-existent when rules concerning sonants operate).

(14) नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वम् (*ibid* I-1-55.)

(*Anubandha* is not a factor to decide polysyllabism.)

(15) सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद् बाधितमेव (*ibid* I-1-56.)

(When two rules conflict with each other, the one, defeated after its first operation, is defeated for ever.)

(16) वर्णाश्रये नास्ति प्रत्ययलक्षणम् (*ibid* I-1-58.)

(Rule relating to a suffix does not operate when a rule relating to a letter has to operate.)

(17) अन्यत्र वर्णग्रहणे जातिग्रहणं भवति (*ibid* I-2-41).

(Letters refer to genus except when rules relating to the number of syllables operate).

(18) अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा (*ibid* I-2-48 etc.)
(*Vidhi* (enjoining) or *pratiṣēdha* (prohibition) refers to what is nearest).

(19) नानुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यम् (*ibid* I-3-9).
(Likeness is not affected between two letters though they have different *anubandhas* attached to them).

(20) विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयान् (*ibid* I-3-60).
(*Niyama-vidhi* is more powerful than conjugational signs).

(21) तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते (*ibid* I-4-13).
(Its part is made to denote it).

(22) अवयवविधौ सामान्यविधिर्न भवति (*ibid* II-2-3).
(General rule does not operate when rules for parts are enjoined).

(23) कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् (*ibid* IV-1-48).
(*Krt* affix denotes the word ending with it together with the *gati* or the noun denoting a case-relation which may be prefixed to it).

(24) मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान्विधीन् बाधन्ते (*ibid* IV-1-55).
(Rules of exception in the middle affect those which precede).

Patañjali was aware of the different dialects of Sanskrit.¹
He gives different readings in one *sūtra*.²

He defines *vṛtti* as *parārthābhīdhānam* and classifies it into two:—

जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः and अजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः (M. B. under II-1-1).

He mentions the nature of *sphoṭa* in:—

स्फोटः शब्दः ध्वनिः शब्दगुणः (M. B. under I-1-70).
and the word स्फोट in स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते (M. B. under एओङ्).

1 शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति । विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शव इति । हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु, गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुज्यते । दातिर्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु (*Paspaśa*).

2 उभयथा ह्याचार्येण शिष्याः सूत्रं प्रतिपादिताः । केचिदाकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा इति, केचित् प्राकङ्कारात्परं कार्यम् इति (M. B. under I-4-1).

He recognises four *pramāṇas* as is seen from

प्रत्यक्षेण खल्वपि स विरुध्यते (M. B. under IV-1-3).

प्रत्यक्षस्तेनाग्निधूमयोरभिसम्बन्धः कृतो भवति, त्रिविष्टब्धकपरित्राज-
कयोश्च (*ibid* III-2-124).

क्रिया नामेयमत्यन्तापरिदृष्टा सासावनुमानगम्या (*ibid* III-2-115).

उपमानात्सिद्धम् (*ibid* IV-1-33).

वचनप्रामाण्यात् (*ibid* I-3-9).

शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् (*ibid* II-1-1 etc)

He recognises that *Pāṇini's* grammar deals with words found in all *Vēdas*.

Cf. सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् (M. B. under VI-3-14).

His keen knowledge of all the four *Vēdas*, *Dharmasūtras*, *Śrāutasūtras*, *Gṛhyasūtras*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas*, *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra* and *Nyāyasūtra* and his intimate knowledge of *Śrāuta-karma* and *Smārttakarma* are patent from the profuse quotations he gives from them. It is elaborately dealt with by Prabhat Candra Cakravarti in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. II. His mention of याचक्रीतिकः, प्रैयङ्गविकः, यायातिकः and वासवदत्तिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, पेटिहासिकः, पौराणिकः under IV-2-60 shows that before him *Ākhyānas*, *Ākhyāyikās*, *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsas* were studied by separate sets of people. His mention of जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः under the question प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये इति किमर्थम्? under (III-2-111) tells us that he witnessed the story of *Kaṁsa-vadha* enacted before him. He also says कंसवधमाचष्टे, बलिबन्धमाचष्टे under III-1-26. His statement वाररुचं काव्यम्, *jālūkāḥ ślōkāḥ* under IV-3-104 throws light on the existence of *Kāvya*s in his time. The conversation described between a *vāiyākarāṇa* and a *sūta* under II-4-56 and the expression *na tu iṣṭijñāḥ* clearly tell us that Sanskrit was a spoken language and *Patañjali* makes his readers understand thro' the conversation that the practice of telling *iṣṭi* was prevalent before the time of *Patañjali*.

The expression कथं पुनरतस्मिन् स इत्येतद्भवति ? चतुर्भिः प्रकारैर-
तस्मिन् स इत्येतद्भवति, तात्स्थ्यात् तादृम्यात् तत्साम्रीण्यात् तत्साहचर्यादिति
under IV-1-48 and the expression किं योऽयः शूलेनान्विच्छति स
आयःशूलिकः । किं चातः ? । शिवभागवते प्राप्नोति under V-2-76
suggest that *Patañjali* was an *advāitin* and his *upāsyadēvatā*
was *Śiva*.¹

METHOD ADOPTED IN WRITING BHĀṢYA

Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, Prof. Goldstucker, Prof. Keilhorn and others consider that *Mahābhāṣya* is a commentary on *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas*.² But the author of *Śabdakalpadruma* says, परं पतञ्जलिः सूत्रपाठस्य वार्तिकस्य च महाभाष्यं विधाय सर्वतः प्रमाद-
परिशून्योऽयं पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायीग्रन्थ इति प्रदर्शयन् कात्यायनतीव्रदृष्टेः ररक्षेनं
समादरणीयं ग्रन्थमुत्तमम्. From the tabular statement in p. iv it can be seen that out of about 4000 *sūtras* found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, about 1700 came to the purview of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Of them about 1200 have under them the *vārttikas* of one *Vārttikakāra*, about 25 have under them the *vārttikas* of two or more *Vārttikakāras* and about 425 have no *vārttikas* but only *bhāṣya* (i.e.) about one fourth of the book deals with the interpretation of *Bhāṣyakāra* on the *sūtras*. Even in *sūtras* which have *vārttikas* under them, there are certain topics like तद्भूतवितग्रहण in वृद्धिरादैश्च which are *Patañjali's* own. Even among *Śivasūtras*, जमङ्गनम् and जमञ्ज have no *vārttikas*

1 Cf. *Patañjali* seems to have been an *Advāitavādin* belonging probably to the *Advāita* set of *Śaiva* religion (The Indian Historical Quarterly p.p. 270-271 on and Indian Antiquary Vol. XLI p. 272.)

2 भोगीन्द्र तेषां भुवि वार्तिकानामशेषविद्वज्जनदुर्ग्रहाणाम् ।

भाष्यं महर्कुर्विति भक्तरक्षी नियोक्ष्यते त्वां किल नीलकण्ठः ॥ (1-63.)

Mahābhāṣya ... a critical discussion on the *Vārttikas* of *Kātyāyana*; while its *iṣṭis*, on the other hand, are original *vārttikas* on such *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* as called for his own remarks. (*Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 92.)

The *Mahābhāṣya* is, in the first instance, a commentary on *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas*. (*Kātyāyana and Patañjali* p. 51.)

under them. Among 1200 *sūtras* which have *vārttikas*, the *vārttikas* under about 700 are simply explanatory. *Patañjali* begins with a lucid commentary on the *vārttikas* more than half of which is in the form of *pūrvapakṣavārttikas* and *siddhāntavārttikas*. Whenever he differs from the opinion of the *Vārttikakāra* or *Vārttikakāras*, he appends his views at the end. *Patañjali* almost always agrees with *Vārttikakāras* whenever they deal with the change of words morphologically and semantically. He sometimes refutes the amendment of *Kātyāyana* through the instrument of *yōgavibhāga* introduced by *Kātyāyana* himself. He gives his own *iṣṭis* and makes very good use of the devices discovered by *Kātyāyana*. He is called *iṣṭikṛt* by *Mañkhaka* in his *Śrīkanthacarita* (3, 57.) The spirit of independent thought combined with keen critical acumen and consummate scholarship pervades the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*.¹

DATES OF PATAÑJALI, KĀTYĀYANA AND PĀṆINI

From the expressions पुष्यमित्रो यजते (under III-2-26), पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः (under III-2-123), पुष्यमित्रसभा (under I-1-69), अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम्, अरुणद्यवनो मध्यमिकाम् (under III-2-111) scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar, Prof. Goldstucker have concluded that *Patañjali* should have been at the court of *Puṣyamitra* and lived at the time of Menander's invasion of *Sākēta* and hence could not have lived later than 150 B. C. *Kātyāyana*'s date is considered to be about 350 B. C. *Pāṇini* is taken by Prof. Max-Muller and other scholars to be a contemporary of *Kātyāyana*, while Prof. Goldstucker thinks that he should have lived long before *Kātyāyana*. 150 B. C., 350 B. C. and 550 B. C. may, for the present, be taken as the approximate dates of *Patañjali*, *Kātyāyana* and *Pāṇini*.

I express my heartfelt thanks to the Syndicate of the Annamalai University and to the two Vice-Chancellors

¹ Cf. *Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 92.

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May Lord *Natarāja* and Lord *Paśupatiśa* enable me to complete the work I have undertaken—Lectures on the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*!

Annamalainagar, }
1—7—1943. }

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The *Second* Edition is almost the reprint of the *First* Edition with verbal changes here and there and a change in the form of Index. I express my gratitude to the Syndicate of the Annamalai University for having permitted me to publish the subsequent editions of this volume and my other works published by them in the Registrar's letter No. 9807 dated 31st January 1947. Further I am grateful to the Sahitya Akademi for financial assistance in the publication of this second edition of Volume I.

Thiruvaiyaru, }
8—8—1960. }

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

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LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्
ओं नमः पाणिनिकात्यायनपतञ्जलिमहर्षिभ्यो वंशगुरुभ्यो नमो गुरुभ्यः

INTRODUCTION

It is now an accepted fact that Grammar follows Literature. The earliest Indian Literature is the Vedas. The Indians considered it their primary duty to preserve them intact. One of the means of preservation was the writing of Grammar and its study. Cf. रक्षार्थं वेदानाम् अध्येयं व्याकरणम् (M. B. 1, 1, 1). That there were nine systems of Grammar is evident from the verse

सोऽयं नवव्याकरणार्थवेत्ता ब्रह्मा भविष्यत्यपि ते प्रसादात् (U. R. 36, 48)
wherein it is said that Hanūmān, the minister of Sugrīva, had a mastery over nine treatises on Grammar. Of them Pāṇini's treatise seems to be the last, since Hanūmān is said to have studied *San̄graha*, an elaborate work written by *Vyāḍi* in hundred thousand verses based on Pāṇini's Grammar. Cf.

ससूत्रवृत्त्यर्थपदं महार्थं ससङ्ग्रहं साध्यति वै कपीन्द्रः (U. R. 36, 46)
A grammatical treatise by Indra is mentioned in tradition to have been the first of the nine; but such a treatise does not seem to have been mentioned of in any work. The only reference to Indra's being connected with Grammar is found in *Mahābhāṣya*, where it is said that Indra attempted in vain to make a detailed study, in 1000 divine years, of all the words current, at the feet of the preceptor of the devas.

बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं प्रोवाच,
न चान्तं जगाम ¹ (M. B. 1, 1, 1)

1. It may be noted that (1) in the Foreword to *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant Tamil Grammar, we find the statement "Aintiram niraṇṭa Tolkāppiyaṇ" (*Tolkāppiyaṇ* well-versed in *Aindra*) and (2) under sūtra 74 of *Collatikāram*, Cēṇāvaraiyar says "Aintiranūlār vīvivērrumaiyai eṭṭām vērrumai āka nērtār" (The author of the *Aindra* called the vocative case, the eighth case).

The revered Pāṇini wrote his work in *eight* chapters of four *pādas* each, in the form of *sūtras*. *Sūtras* are short sentences, unambiguous, clear and comprehensive. Cf.

अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं सारवद्विधृतोमुखम् ।

अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

The invaluable service done by Pāṇini to Sanskrit can well be appreciated only by a close study of his work. The division of his work into two parts, the former comprising the first seven chapters and the first *pāda* of the last and the latter, the last three *pādas* of the last, is an art by itself. The *sūtras* of the latter part are said to be non-existent when those of the former part operate. Cf.

पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (P. VIII, 2, 1)

His work was commented upon in an elaborate treatise consisting of 100000 verses, by Vyāḍi who was said by my revered guru to have been the grandson of Pāṇini. It was named *Saṅgraha*. Unfortunately the work seems to have been lost. We get only stray references to it. Cf.

सङ्ग्रहे एतत् प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम् (M. B. 1, 1, 1)

Later on, a large number of grammarians commented upon the *sūtras* of Pāṇini. Their works were called *Vārttikas*. They have not only elucidated the views of Pāṇini, but also added the explanation of words which became newly current in their times and rejected those that fell out of use. Cf.

उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तानां चिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते ।

तं ग्रन्थं वार्त्तिकं प्राहुः वार्त्तिकज्ञा मनीषिणः ॥

It is a sad feature that the names of all of them except one are not now well-known to us. He is *Kātyāyana* by *Gōtra* and *Vararuci* by name. It is a matter for research whether he is himself the author of the *Śrāutasūtras*, *Sarvānukramaṇī* etc. or different from him.

Then came Patañjali who is believed by the *āstikas* to have been the incarnation of *Ādiśeṣa*. He wrote his *Mahābhāṣya* which is an elaborate treatise dealing with discussions on

INTRODUCTION

3

many of the sūtras of Pāṇini and the vārttikas of the different Vārttikakāras.¹ It is not only a commentary on the sūtras and the vārttikas, but also a critical treatise discussing on the necessity of the above sūtras and vārttikas. He shows that some of the sūtras are not necessary and that their purpose is served by *jñāpakas*. He sometimes disagrees with the criticism of the Vārttikakāras against Pāṇini and establishes with forcible arguments the views of Pāṇini. Cf.

सूत्रार्थो वर्ण्यते यत्र वाक्यैः सूत्रानुसारिभिः ।

स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः ॥

The method adopted by him in his arguments is very fine. He proves his point by analogy with *nyāyas* current in the world.

When there are *bhāṣyas* for all *śāstras*, why should the *bhāṣya* of Vyākaraṇa alone be called Mahābhāṣya? This question is answered by Bhartṛhari and Puṇyarāja, the commentator on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, that it is not only a treatise on Grammar, but also the fountain-source of all *nyāyas*. Cf.

कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।

सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥ (V. II. 485)

तच्च भाष्यं न केवलं व्याकरणस्य निबन्धनं यावत्सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां बोद्धव्यमित्यत एव सर्वन्यायबीजहेतुत्वादेव महच्छब्देन विशेष्य महाभाष्यमित्युच्यते लोके ॥ (P. II. 485).

Nāgōjibhaṭṭa, the renowned all-round veteran scholar of the 17th c. answers the same question thus:—It is not only a commentary, but also a criticism on the sūtras and the vārttikas, wherein he gives his own views, though they do not agree with those of the Sūtrakāra and Vārttikakāras. Cf.

व्याख्यातृत्वेऽपि अस्य इष्ट्यादिकथनेन अन्वाख्यातृत्वाद् इतरभाष्यवैलक्षण्येन

1. Annambhaṭṭa in p. 4 of his *Pratipōddyōtana* says thus:—
सूत्रार्थवर्णनादिकं तु प्रायिकम् ... एतस्य वार्तिकभाष्यत्वाच्च ॥

महत्त्वम् ¹ (M. B. 1, 1, 1)

The Mahābhāṣya was used to be read by orthodox Indian grammarians in the same way as the Vedāntabhāṣyas. The *śānti* that was recited at the beginning was—

वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ।
पाणिनिं सूत्रकारञ्च प्रणतोऽस्मि मुनित्रयम् ॥
योगेन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मलं शरीरस्य च वैद्यकेन ।
योऽपाकरोत्तं प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिरानतोऽस्मि ॥

From this it is evident that, according to tradition, Patañjali was the author of not only the Mahābhāṣya but also the Yōgasūtra and a work on Indian medicine.

Some seem to doubt the identity of the author of the Yōgasūtra with that of Mahābhāṣya, since Vyāsa is said to be the commentator of the Yōgasūtra and he is identical with the author of the Vedāntasūtras. But as there is no conclusive proof for the identity of the two Vyāsas, it may be taken that Vyāsa, the commentator on the Yōgasūtra was different from the Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa and the two Patañjalis are identical.

The study of the Mahābhāṣya was closed on the *dvādaśī tithi* with *maṅgalapāṭha* (since Pāṇini is believed to have left this world on the *trayōdaśī tithi*) and commenced again on the *dvitīyā*. On the *maṅgalapāṭha* day mustard and curd were offered to the three munies Pāṇini, Vararuci and Patañjali.

The Sanskrit scholars had so much regard to Mahābhāṣya that they said

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्

1. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri once wrote to me that Mahābhāṣya, Śābarabhāṣya and Śāṅkarabhāṣya contain 34,000, 25000 and 10,000 granthas respectively. If so, quantity also decides the mahattva of the Mahābhāṣya.

1. पस्पशाह्निकम्

The *sūtras* found in the first *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are discussed along with the *vārttikas* in nine *āhnikas*. The first *āhnika* is named *Paspaśāhnika*. This name should have been at least as old as the time of Māgha, since he mentions this in one of his verses in the *Śisupālavadha*. Cf.

अनुत्सूत्रपदन्यासा सद्वृत्तिः सन्निबन्धना ।

शब्दविधेय नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पशा ॥ (Śi. 2, 112)

The word *paspaśā* is derived from the root *spaś* which means to refute or to touch upon. This *āhnika* refutes the arguments of others and touches upon the preliminaries of the *śāstra*. The second *āhnika* is named *Pratyāhārāhnika*, since it deals with the *pratyāhāra sūtras*—*Aiun*, *Ṛlk*, *Eōñ* etc. From the third *āhnika* onwards discussions on the *sūtras* commencing with *Vṛddhir ādāic* are found.

The topics dealt with in the first *āhnika* are (1) the commencement of the *śāstra*, (2) the classification of words, (3) the definition of *śabda*, (4) the use of the study of this *śāstra*, (5) the method to be adopted in expounding the *śāstra*, (6) the *nityatva* (eternity) or the *kāryatva* (transitoriness) of *śabda*, (7) the need for the *śāstra* on account of its expounding that correct words are needed for *dharma*, (8) the meaning of the word *Vyākaraṇam* and (9) the need for making use of *pratyāhāra sūtras* in this *śāstra*.

I

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् । अथेत्ययं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम्

The expression — *Atha Śabdānuśāsanam* — is a *sūtra* - like sentence of the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* and it is explained by the following sentences

अथेत्ययं शब्दः अधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते - शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रम् अधिकृतं वेदितव्यम्

It means 'the Śabdānuśāsanam commenceth.' The Śabdānuśāsanam means the Science wherein the derivation of words is explained. What is the meaning of the word *atha* here? Its meanings are stated by the author of Amarakōśa thus—
 मङ्गलानन्तरारम्भप्रश्नकार्त्स्न्येवथो अथ. Here it means ārambha (commencement). Then arises the question whether the word *atha* denotes commencement or suggests it (i.e.) in other words, whether the word *atha* is *ārambha-vācaka* or *ārambha-dyōtaka*. Kāiyaṭa, the author of the *Pradīpa* on Mahābhāṣya and Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣit, the author of the *Siddhāntakāumudī*, Manōramā, Śabdakāustubha etc. hold the former view and Nāgōji-bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Uddyōta* on Mahābhāṣya, holds the latter view. The authorities for Nāgēśa's view are the *kārikā* of Bhartṛhari

निपाता द्योतकाः केचित्पृथगर्थभिधायिनः ।

आगमा इव केऽपि स्युः सम्भूयार्थस्य वाचकाः ॥ (V. 2, 194)

and the bhāṣya under the sūtra अव्ययं विभक्तिः.....साकल्यान्तवचनेषु (2, 1, 6). When the word *atha* in अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा and अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा means *ānantarya* (immediate succession), why should not the same word have the same meaning here? Dharma-vicāra invariably requires the knowledge of the Vedas and hence it follows the study of the Vedas. Similarly Brahma-vicāra must invariably be preceded by the possession of four requisites:—Nityānityavastuviveka (discriminating the eternal from the non-eternal), ihāmutrārthaphalabhogavirāga (averseness from enjoyment here or elsewhere), śamadamādisampat (control of the senses etc.) and mumukṣutva (desire to be relieved of the bondage of mortal life). Hence *atha* there has to be taken to mean 'immediate succession.' But, on the other hand, the study of Grammar does not invariably need anything before it. One may doubt the veracity of this statement, since the knowledge of Literature is considered necessary before one begins to study Grammar. Though it is right to think so, yet he should be made to remember that it is not always the case.

If the word *atha* suggests commencement, one may think that it may be discarded since the word Śabdānuśāsanam alone may suggest it. This is answered by Kāiyaṭa thus:—

अनेकक्रियाविषयस्यापि शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रारम्भ्यमाणता अथशब्दसन्निधाने प्रतीयते
(The use of the word śabdānuśāsanam alone may enable one to interpret it as śabdānuśāsanam śrūyatē, ārabhyatē etc. The word *atha* shows that it means śabdānuśāsanam ārabhyatē). If one thinks that the above doubt may be cleared by the word *adhikṛtam* in the *vivarāṇa-bhāṣya*, he may be answered that the word *atha* not only serves this purpose, but also indicates another meaning.

It indicates auspiciousness (*maṅgala*). It has been the practice of Indian writers to invoke the blessings of God at the commencement of their work, so that the work may see its end without any difficulty. This is done either by writing verses in the form of prayer or by using word or words that indicate it. Just as the sound of drums indicates the marriage in a house, so also the word *atha* is taken to indicate *maṅgala*, since it is considered to be one of the two words that first emanated from the mouth of Brahṁā, the Creator. Cf.

ओंकारश्चाथशब्दश्च द्वावेतौ ब्रह्मणः पुरा ।

कण्ठं भित्त्वा विनिर्यातौ तस्मान्माङ्गलिकावुभौ ॥

The reason why Patañjali indicated *maṅgala* without actually giving expression to it in the form of prayer may be that Pāṇini and Vararuci have indicated *maṅgala* and not expressed it by the words *vrddhiḥ* and *siddhē* in the first sūtra *Vṛddhir ādāic* and the first *vārttika*

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः

It was stated that the expression अथेत्ययं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् is *vivarāṇa-bhāṣya*. The word *iti* is used here so that the word *atha* here means the word and not its meaning. Cf. इतिशब्दः पदार्थविपर्ययसङ्कतः. When one says रामः रावणं जघान, the word Rāmaḥ means the *person*

Rāma; but, on the other hand, if one says राम इति तस्य नाम, the word Rāma means the word Rāma made up of the two syllables Rā and ma.

Since Pāṇini, the Sūtrakāra, has stated in his sūtra स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा (1, 1, 68) (that in his work a word means its form and not its meaning) and since the Mahābhāṣya is a work on grammar, one may think that the word *iti* in the *vivarāṇa-bhāṣya* is not necessary. But Patañjali by his use of *iti* here suggests that Pāṇini's tenet स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा does not hold good here.

The use of the word *ayam* after the word *iti* is to make the readers think of *atha* in the preceding sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* and not elsewhere as in *atha Yogānuśāsanam*. Patañjali is not sparing in words. Though the word *śabda* is not necessary since the word *iti* suggests that *atha* denotes the word *atha*, he has used it so that it may be easily understood by the readers.

The word *adhikāra* means commencement. The derivation of *śabdānuśāsanam* is *śabdānām anuśāsanam* and that of *anuśāsanam* is अनुशिष्यन्ते असाधुशब्देभ्यो विविच्य ज्ञाप्यन्ते साधुशब्दाः अनेन. The suffix *ana* in *śabdānuśāsanam* denotes instrument and hence the word *śabdānuśāsanam* means grammar. The use of the sixth case in *śabdānām anuśāsanam* is on the authority of the sūtra Kartṛkarmanōḥ kṛti (2, 3, 65) and not Ubhaya-prāptāu karmani, since otherwise the *saṁāsa śabdānuśāsanam* would be prevented by the sūtra Karmani ca.

Hence the sentence *Atha śabdānuśāsanam* means 'the Grammar commenceth.' Its statement instead of *Vyākaraṇaśāstram ārabhyatē* serves the following purposes; (1) *maṅgalam* is indicated by *atha* (2) *śabda* is the *viṣaya* (topic for discussion) in this work (3) the knowledge of the derivation of *śabda* by the readers is the aim of this work and (4) those who are eager to learn Grammar are fit to study it.

Readers can completely comprehend the meaning of the sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* only if they are fully aware

of the connotation and the denotation of the words which make it up. The meaning of *atha* has been explained by the Bhāṣyakāra himself and the meaning of *anuśāsanam* is learnt from the meaning of the root *śās* which is found in the *Dhātupāṭha* and the meaning of the suffix *ana* from the sūtra *करणाधिकरणयोश्च* (P. III, 3, 117). But neither the denotation nor the connotation of *śabda* is clear to the reader. Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra goes to the next topic which deals with the classification of *śabda*.

II

केषां शब्दानाम्? लौकिकानां वैदिकानाञ्च । तत्र लौकिकास्तावत्, गौरश्चः पुरुषो हस्ती शकुनिर्मृगो ब्राह्मण इति । वैदिकाः खल्वपि – शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये; इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा; अग्निमीले पुरोहितम्; अग्न आयाहि वीतये इति ॥

Of which *śabdās*? Of those current in the world and in the Vedas. Among them the *lāukika śabdās* are गौः (cow), अश्वः (horse), पुरुषः (person), हस्ती (elephant), शकुनिः (bird), मृगः (deer), ब्राह्मणः (brāhmaṇa) etc. The *Vāidika śabdās* are शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये [Let the waters bring us happiness (so that we may perform sacrifice)]; इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा [(I cut) you for food and vitality]; अग्निमीले पुरोहितम् (I invoke Agni, the divine priest); अग्न आयाहि वीतये. (Oh Agni, go over here to consume the oblations).

What is the need for this question *kēṣām śabdānām*? Kāiṣaṭha and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa differ in their answer on this point. The former is of opinion that, since the word *śabda* denotes not only the words of human speech but also cries of birds, animals etc., Mahābhāṣyakāra wants to inform the readers clearly that it denotes only speech-words here. In that case one may think that the answer *manuja-śabdānām* would have been more appropriate. Had that answer been given, it may not make the readers understand clearly that *śabda* denotes *Vāidika* expressions also and it may even enable them to mistake that *śabda* denotes *apaśabdās* (incorrect expressions)

also. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa feels, on the other hand, that this question is intended to inform the readers that *śabda* here denotes not only the *lāukika śabda* but also the *Vāidika śabda*, and thus enable them to understand that Pāṇini does not deal in his grammar only with *lāukika śabdas* as in *Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇa* nor only with *Vāidika śabdas* as in *Prātiśākhya*, but with both.

Since the Vedas form part of the world, the *Vāidika śabdas* form a part of the *lāukika śabdas*. Then what is the need for the expression *Vāidikānām ca*? The need is felt since the author wants to give prominence to the *Vāidika śabda*. The expression *Vāidikānām ca* here is similar to the expression *Vasiṣṭhōpi* in the sentence ब्राह्मणा आगताः वसिष्ठोऽप्यागतः (Brāhmaṇas have come and also *Vasiṣṭha*). The expression *Vasiṣṭhōpi* does not preclude *Vasiṣṭha* from being a Brāhmaṇa, but suggests that he is the Brāhmaṇa of Brāhmaṇas. The *Vāidika śabdas* are considered to be more prominent than the *lāukika śabdas*, since the latter should not be mispronounced *only in sacrifices* (*yājñē karmanī*) and the former *on no occasions*. Or it may be taken that Mahābhāṣyakāra may have stated *lāukikānām vaidikānām ca* similar to the statements of Pāṇini *Bhāṣyām sadavaśāśruvaḥ* ([I. 2. 108), *Chandasī ca* (V. 1. 61).

The *lāukika śabdas* are illustrated by *gāuḥ*, *aśvaḥ*, etc. It is worthy of note that the list of words given by Yāska in his Nirukta commences with the same words,

सत्त्वानामुपदेशः । गौरश्चः पुरषो हस्तीति । (N. 1, 1, 2)

The *Vāidika śabdas* are illustrated by the sentences शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये etc. This clearly shows that, in Vedas, the order of words should not be changed, that they should be pronounced with their respective *svara* and that the sentence accent is more powerful than the word accent.

The four sentences mentioned above शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये, इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा, अग्निर्मौले पुरोहितम्, अग्र आयहि वीतये respectively represent the Atharvaveda, the Yajurveda, the Rgveda and the

Sāmavēda. It may be a surprise to the *Brāhmaṇas* to see that the order is inverted here, since they have been accustomed to repeat them in a different order while they perform their *Brahmayajña*. The order that they follow then is अग्निमीले पुरोहितम्, इषे त्वोजे त्वा, अग्न आयाहि वीतये, शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये. Hence it is necessary to infer some reason or other for this inversion.

From *Dharmasūtras* it is plain that those that are authorised to study the *Vedas* have to study all the *Vedas*. If it is not practicable, they are allowed to study two or at least one. Cf.

वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमम् ।

अविप्लुतब्रह्मचर्यो गृहस्थाश्रममावसेत् ॥ (M. III. 2)

It may also be noted that there were people who studied all the four *Vedas* in forty-eight years. Cf.

अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पौराणां वेदब्रह्मचर्यम् (B.D. I. 2. 1)

அறுநாள் கிரட்டி யிளமை நல்லியாண்டு

ஆறின் கழிப்பிய வறனவில் கொள்கை

... ..

இருபிற்ப் பான் பொழுதறிந்து நுவல்

திரு. மு. (179—82)

If one is prepared to study all the *Vedas*, the injunction *खाद्यायोऽध्येतव्यः* says that he should first study the *Veda* which was first studied by his forefathers. Otherwise he is said to become a sinner. Cf.

पारंपर्यागतो येषां वेदस्सपरिवृंहणः ।

तच्छाखाकर्म कुर्वीत तच्छाखाध्ययनं तथा ॥

यः स्वशाखां परित्यज्य पारक्यमधिगच्छति ।

स शूद्रवद्बहिष्कार्यस्सर्वकर्मसु साधुभिः ॥ (Y.)

Hence it seems to me that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* studied the *Atharvavēda* first and then the *Yajurvēda*, the *R̥gvēda* and the *Sāmavēda*. This is also supported by the fact that, on another occasion when he says that students repeat the

Vedas as taught to them without questioning the why of it, he mentions

ओम् इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति ॥ (M.B.I. 1. 1) ¹

Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Śivadatta D. Kudala, the editor of the Mahābhāṣya which was published by Tukarama Javaji writes in the foot-note under this portion that the Atharvavēda is mentioned first since the *Brahmā*, one of the four principal priests of a sacrifice, is to be conversant with all the Vedas and he should know how to avert difficulties both from within and from without, for which the knowledge of the Atharvavēda is necessary. Since *adhvaryu* is mentioned immediately after *Brahmā*, the Yajurvēda is mentioned next and since *sāman* is based upon *ṛk*, the Rgvēda is mentioned next. He gives also an alternative explanation that the Atharvavēda is mentioned first, since it is stated in *Muṇḍakōpaniṣad* that *Brahmā* first taught his eldest son *Atharva*, the *Brahmavidyā*. Cf.

ब्रह्मा देवानां प्रथमं सम्बभूव विश्वस्य कर्ता भुवनस्य गोप्ता,
स ब्रह्मविद्यां सर्वविद्याप्रतिष्ठामथर्वाय ज्येष्ठपुत्राय प्राह ।

Śannō dēvir abhiṣṭayē which is generally stated to represent the Atharvavēda is only the first *ṛk* of the sixth *sūkta* in the first *kāṇḍa* of the Atharvavēda ; while

ये त्रिषप्ताः परियन्ति विश्वा रूपाणि विभ्रतः ।

वाचस्पतिर्विला तेषां तन्वोअद्य दधातु मे ॥

happens to be the first *ṛk* of the first *sūkta* in the Atharvavēda. I am unable to understand why शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये is preferred to ये त्रिषप्ताः परियन्ति, though इषे त्वोजे त्वा, अग्निमीले पुरोहितम् अग्न आयाहि वीतये are at the commencement of the Yajurvēda, the Rgvēda and the Sāmavēda respectively.

Having thus dealt with the denotation of the word *śabda*, Mahābhāṣyakāra begins to deal with its connotation.

1. Cf. शन्नो देवीयं संहितया अधीष्व (Vol. V. p. 174) also.

III

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः ? किं यत्तत्सालालाङ्गलककुदखुरविषाण्यथैरूपं स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, द्रव्यं नाम तत् । यत्तर्हि तदिङ्गितं चेष्टितं निमिषितमिति स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, क्रिया नाम सा । यत्तर्हि तत् शुक्रो नीलः कपिलः कपोत इति स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, गुणो नाम सः । यत्तर्हि तद्विज्ञेष्वाभिन्नं छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नं सामान्य-भूतं स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, आकृतिर्नाम सा । कस्तर्हि शब्दः ? येनोच्चारितेन सास्त्रालाङ्गलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः ; अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते । तद्यथा, शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्यं माणवकः, इति ध्वनिं कुर्वन्नेवमुच्यते । तस्मात् ध्वनिः शब्दः ।

Now, when one says *gāuḥ*, 'What is śabda? Is it the object which has the dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc.?' No, he says, it is called *dravya*. Is it then its gesture, movement or winking? No, he says, it is called *kriyā* or action. Is it then the whiteness, blueness, brownness, or greyness? No, he says, it is called *guṇa*. Is it then the sum-total of the qualities like *sattā* which ever exists even when the individuals are broken or destroyed? No, he says, it is called *ākṛti*. Then what is *śabda*? *Śabda* is that on whose manifestation the correct knowledge of the object which has dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc., is produced; or, the sound which has a decisive meaning is said to be *śabda* in the world. It is clear from the fact that he who makes noise is told thus: 'Make *śabda*,' 'Do not make *śabda*.' 'This student is a maker of *śabda*.' Hence *dhvani* is *śabda*.

When a word like *gāuḥ* is pronounced, the following concepts appear in the mind of the hearer:—the individuality cow, her action, her qualities, genus cow, the shape of the cow—and also the word made up of *g*, *āu* and *visarga* strikes his ear. The hearer begins to doubt whether on pronouncing *gāuḥ* the *śabda* refers to the individuality cow, her actions etc. It may seem absurd to some to think so since the individuality cow, her qualities etc., are seen by the eyes and the word *gāuḥ* is heard by the ear. But since the relation of *śabda* and *artha*,

guṇa and *guṇin*, *kriyā* and *kriyāvān* in Sanskrit is identity according to the Sanskrit grammarians and there is a rule तदभिज्ञाभिन्नस्य तदभिन्नत्वम्, it is quite natural to think so. Mahābhāṣyakāra says that they are not the connotation of *śabda* and the true connotation is *sphōṭa*—that, which, when manifested, enables the hearer to have a clear knowledge of the object cow.

Is it not then the sound that strikes the ear? At first he says 'no' for the following reasons:—[In words made up of more than one letter, if one letter is capable of giving the sense of the whole word, the other letters are unnecessary. If, on the other hand, the whole made up of all letters is considered to be capable of giving the sense, it is not possible to have the whole pronounced at the same time. Hence the Sanskrit grammarians hold that every letter that is pronounced makes an impression in the mind and the sumtotal of the impressions made by all the letters of the word suggests the sense. Hence *śabda* is not what we hear, but it is that which is manifested in the mind after the whole word is pronounced.

It may be useful in this context to mention that the Sanskrit grammarians state that *śabda* is of four phases:—*parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vāikhari*, *parā* being that phase of the *śabdabrahman*, the undifferentiated primordial sound manifested at *mūlādhāra*, or sacral plexus, *paśyantī* being that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisable to *yōgins*, *madhyamā* being that phase which is manifested at the heart and *vāikhari* being that phase which is manifested out of the vocal organs as the articulated sound. These four phases are clearly suggested by the following ṛk read in the Mahābhāṣya and the following *kārikā* found in Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*:—

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

(M. B. I. 1. 1.)

वैखर्या मध्यमायाश्च पश्यन्त्याश्चैतदद्भुतम् ।

अनेकतीर्थभेदायास्त्वया वाचः परं पदम् ॥ (V. I. 144).

Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says that the definition

येनोच्चारितेन सास्त्रालङ्कूलकुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो जायते स शब्दः

applies to *madhyamā* and the definition प्रतीतपदार्थको ध्वनिः शब्दः applies to *vāikharī*.

Even though that

येनोच्चारितेन सास्त्रालङ्कूलकुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो जायते स शब्दः

is the true definition of a word, yet Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests another definition also which is current in the world.

The statements शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्यं माणवकः are taken by Kāiyāṭa to be *vidhi* (injunction) *niṣēdha*, (prohibition), and *vastuṣṭhīṭikathana* (statement of actual fact). But all the three may be pronounced with the same purpose to silence a noisy boy. There is no doubt that in that case शब्दं कुरु and शब्दकार्यं माणवकः will have to be pronounced in a particular tone, the former in a sarcastic tone and the latter in a complaining tone. If one begins to question why he should give expression to three sentences which have the same meaning, the answer is that Mahābhāṣyakāra takes pleasure in such statements :—Cf.

धर्माय नियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः

वृत्तये समवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायः (M. B. I. 1—1)

The word *atha* in *Atha gāur ityatra kaḥ śabdaḥ* introduces the question गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः; hence Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says *prcchyatē iti śēṣaḥ*. *Yat-tat* is used in the sense of *yat*. The use of the neuter in *yat-tat* and the use of the masculine in *saḥ* is sanctioned by the statement

उद्दिश्यमानप्रतिनिर्दिश्यमानयोरेकत्वमापादयन्ति सर्वनामानि पर्यायेण तल्लिङ्गमुपाददते ।
(K. I. 1. 1.)

The statement *bhinnēṣu abhinnaṃ* suggests the oneness and the all-pervasiveness and *chinnēṣu achinnaṃ* suggests the perpetuity.

The word *sāmānyabhūtam* is taken by Kāiyaṭa in the sense *sāmānyam iva*. But since the word *sāmānya* here denotes *sattā*, the *vyāpaka-jāti*, and *ākṛti* is the *vyāpya-jāti* and there can be no comparison between two things that are *vyāpaka* and *vyāpya*, Nāgōjibhaṭṭa takes it to mean *sāmānya-svarūpam* and he quotes a similar use of *bhūto* in Mahābhāṣya-*Pramāṇabhūta ācāryaḥ*, (I. 1. 3.) in support of his interpretation.

The word *ākṛtiḥ* means not only genus, but also shape. Wherever Mahābhāṣyakāra deals with the word *ākṛtiḥ* he takes it in both the senses. Cf.

आकृतिर्हि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् ... द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या (M. B. I. 1. 1.)

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् ... रूपसामान्याद्वा (M. B. I. 1. 2.)

The authority for his taking shape also to be the sense of *ākṛti* is the sūtra of Gāutama व्यक्त्याकृतिजातयः पदार्थः (II. 2. 63).

The meaning of *uccāritēna* is *abhivyaktēna* (by that which is manifested). *Uccāritēna* is another reading. It is found in the *Sphōṭasiddhi* of Ācārya Maṇḍanamīśra published by the University of Madras.

IV

Unless one is informed of the advantages to be derived from doing a thing, one is not generally inclined to do it.¹

So the question arises ² कानि पुनः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि ? What then are the advantages derived from the study of grammar and what is the authority that enjoins it? Here the word *śabdānuśāsanasya*, though it means 'of grammar,' should be taken to mean 'of the study of grammar.'

The word *prayōjanāni* means not only 'the benefits' but also 'the authorities that enjoin' (*prayōjakāni*). In both the meanings the derivation of the word *prayōjanam* is *prayujyatē anēna*. Kāiyaṭa under this line says

1. प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते ।

(Even a fool does not attempt a thing for nothing).

2. According to Annambhaṭṭa the sentence means, "Are there any advantages from the study of grammar or no?" (*Pradīpōddyōtana*).

किं सन्धोपासनादिवत् व्याकरणाध्ययनं नित्यं कर्म अथ काम्यमिति प्रश्नः

It means that the question is whether the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* like morning and evening ablutions (*sandhyō-pāśana*) or *kāmya-karma*. *Nitya-karma* is that, the performance of which is not considered to bear positive fruit and the non-performance of which is considered to produce demerit *Kāmya-karma*, on the other hand, is that, the performance of which bears the *desired* fruit and the non-performance does not bring any demerit.

The above question is answered thus :—

रक्षोहागमलध्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम् ¹

The advantages are (1) *rakṣā* [protection (of the Vedas)], (2) *ūhaḥ* [modification (of Vedic mantras)], (3) *laghu* [easy means (of acquiring the knowledge of words)], and (4) *asandēhaḥ* (absence of ambiguity) and the authority is *āgamaḥ* (Vedas).

It is worthy of note that the compound word रक्षोहागमलध्वसन्देहाः is in the plural and the word *prayōjanam* is in the singular. Such a usage is sanctioned by the statement एकवच्च अस्य अन्यतरस्याम् (its use in singular is optional) in the sūtra नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । (P. I. 2. 69).

रक्षा—

रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम् । लोपागमवर्णविकारज्ञो हि सम्यग्वेदान्परिपालयिष्यतीति ॥

To protect the Vedas, grammar is to be studied. For, only he who has a correct knowledge of the elision, the augmentation, and the substitution, of sounds is thoroughly capable of preserving the Vedas intact. For instance, in the Vedic expression *dēvā aduhra* (gods milked), the regular form *aduhata* is replaced by *aduhra* where *ta* has been elided and *r* has been augmented. Similarly in the expression *udgrābham*

1. Sāyana under I 1, 1 of Tāittirīyasamhitā ascribes this statement to *Kātyāyana* and the veracity of the same is to be determined.

ca nigrābham ca (V. S. 17, 64) *bh* is substituted for *h*¹. One who is not conversant with the rules of grammar which sanction such usages may have a tendency to correct them.

ऊहः खल्वपि—

² न सर्वैर्लिङ्गैर्न च सर्वाभिर्विभक्तिभिर्वेदे मन्त्रा निगदिताः । ते चावश्यं यज्ञगतेन पुरुषेण यथायथं विपरिणमयितव्याः, तान्नावैयाकरणः शक्नोति यथायथं विपरिणमयितुम् । तस्मादध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥

Modification also (is one of the advantages). Mantras are not read in the Vedas in all genders and cases. They have to be necessarily modified by the priest in a sacrifice according to the context (to suit the particular god or gods invoked). It is not possible for a non-grammarian to suitably modify them. Hence is the need to study grammar. For instance there is a mantra अग्नये त्वा जुष्टं निर्वपामि (V. S. I. 13. 2) in the Yajurveda. It is evident that this mantra should be pronounced when the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. If one is eager of getting *brahma-varcasa* (lustre of Brahman), there is an injunction that the oblation must be offered to the sun. Cf. सूर्ये चरं निर्वपेत् ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः. In that case the word *agnayē* will have to be replaced by the word *sūryāya*. This is possible only if he knows that the dative case singular of *sūrya* is *sūryāya*. Hence is the knowledge of ऊह necessary for the correct performance of Vedic ceremonies. From this one can understand that ऊह helps the यजमान or the sacrificer to reap the desired fruit and the ऋत्विक् or the priest to become happy through the fee he is paid for officiating as priest. Nāgōjibhatta seems to think of the latter alone. Cf.

ऊहज्ञस्य हि आर्त्तिज्यलाभेन द्रव्यप्राप्तिद्वारा ऐहिकसुखसिद्धिः फलमिति बोध्यम्

आगमः खल्वपि—

ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च । प्रधानं च षडङ्गेषु व्याकरणम् । प्रधाने च कृतो यत्नः फलवान्भवति ॥

1. This is according to the descriptive grammar ; for, according to the historical grammar, *h* had *bh* as one of its sources.

2. भाष्ये लिङ्गविभक्तिग्रहणं प्रकृत्याद्युपलक्षणम् (प्रदीपोद्योतने)

Āgama also [forms a *prayōjana* (*prayōjaka*)].

Vēda with six *aṅgas* shall be studied and understood by a Brāhmaṇa without expecting any reward. Of the six *aṅgas*, grammar is important. Effort directed towards the prominent bears rich fruit.

The word *brāhmaṇēna* suggests that the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas and a *kāmya-karma* to others. The word *kāraṇa* in *niṣkāraṇaḥ* means not *cause*, but *fruit*. The six *aṅgas* are (1) *Śikṣā* (Phonetics), (2) *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar), (3) *Chandaḥ* (Prosody), (4) *Nirukta* (Vedic interpretation), (5) *Jyōtiṣa* (Astronomy) and (6) *Kalpa* (The made-easies for the performance of rituals).

Grammar is said to be important since, without its study, one is not capable of understanding the meaning of sentences.

The word *āgama* has been taken to mean *veda* and hence the word *prayōjana* has to be interpreted as *prayōjaka*. Since *āgama* means also *study* and it is used in that sense by Mahābhāṣyakāra himself (*āgamakālēna* I. 1. 1.) and the study of *Vyākaraṇa* is considered to be a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas, it seems to be worthy of consideration whether Mahābhāṣyakāra intends that the study of *Vyākaraṇa* for its own sake is one of the *prayōjanas*.

लघु—

लघ्वर्थं चाध्येयं व्याकरणम् । ब्राह्मणेनावश्यं शब्दा ज्ञेया इति । न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं लघुनोपायेन शब्दाः शक्या विज्ञातुम् ।

For easy grasp of words is grammar to be studied. Words should necessarily be understood by Brāhmaṇas. There is no easy means of learning words other than grammar.

If the paradigm of one noun is known, the case-forms of similar nouns are also known and hence there is no need to get by heart the forms of all nouns. Similarly if the conjugational forms of one verb is known, those of similar verbs are also known.

असन्देहः—

असन्देहार्थं चाप्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् । याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—स्थूलपृषतीमाग्निवारुणी-
मनङ्वाहीमालभेत इति । तस्यां सन्देहः—स्थूला चासौ पृषती च स्थूलपृषती,
स्थूलानि वा पृषन्ति यस्याः सेयं स्थूलपृषतीति । तां नावैयाकरणः स्वरतोऽध्यवस्यति—
यदि पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं ततो बहुव्रीहिः, अथ समासान्तोदात्तत्वं ततस्तत्पुरुष इति ॥

For the absence of ambiguity is grammar to be studied.
Mantras dealing with sacrifices are read thus:—

Tie to the stake to propitiate *Agni* and *Varuṇa* a cow which is *sthūlaprṣatī*. Here is the doubt whether the word *sthūlaprṣatī* means 'stout and spotted,' or 'having big spots.' The correct meaning cannot be understood by a non-grammarian from its *svara*. If it has the *udātta* at the usual place of the first member of the compound, it should be taken as *bahuvrīhi* when, it means 'having big spots'; if, on the other hand, it has the *udātta* at the final syllable, it should be taken as *tatpuruṣa* when, it means 'stout and spotted.'

Having dealt with the advantages of the study of grammar in a general way, Mahābhāṣyakāra enumerates them in detail. Kāiyaṭa says:

“Having mentioned the important benefits, he mentions those that are accessory.¹ Nāgōjibhaṭṭa explains that they are important because they are intended to get a knowledge of words and their meanings and the others are accessory since they deal with incorrect words and the usage of words in proper places etc.²

इमानि च भूयः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि—तेऽसुराः । दुष्टः शब्दः ।
यदधीतम् । यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते । अविद्वांसः । विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति । यो वा इमाम् । चत्वारि ।
उत त्वः । सक्तुमिव । सारस्वतीम् । दशम्यां पुत्रस्य । सुदेवो असि वरुण । इति
These also are the benefits to be accrued by the study of
grammar:—*Tēssurāḥ*

1. मुख्यानि प्रयोजनानि प्रदर्शयानुषङ्गिकाणि प्रदर्शयति

2. तेषां प्रधानत्वं च पदपदार्थज्ञानाधीनत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वात् । वक्ष्यमाणानां च बहिरङ्गशब्दाप-
शब्दप्रयोगविधिनिषेधविषयत्वादानुषङ्गिकत्वं बोध्यम् ।

The expressions *tēssurāḥ* etc., are generally at the commencement of some Vedic texts which are explained in detail below. They are thirteen in number.

तेऽसुराः—

तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः परावभूवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै, नापभाषितवै, म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः । म्लेच्छा मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम्¹ । [तेऽसुराः]²

Those *asuras* pronouncing *hēlayaḥ hēlayaḥ* were baffled in their attempt. Hence no *mlēccha* word (word not sanctioned by grammar) is to be pronounced by a Brāhmaṇa. In order that we may not become *mlēcchas* (the users of corrupt words), grammar is to be studied.

The expression *hēslayō hēslayaḥ* is the incorrect one that is referred to. The mistakes here are, according to some, the non-use of *pluta* and *prakṛtibhāva* (i.e.) हेऽलयो हेऽलयः should have been pronounced as हे ३ अलयः हे ३ अलयः Others think that the correct form is *hē hē arayaḥ*.³

On considering the use of the word म्लेच्छितवै it appears that the statement

तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः परावभूवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै । is a quotation from some previous work.⁴ The expression *na mlēcchitavāi* is explained by Mahābhāṣyakāra by *na apabhāṣitavāi*. The reason for such an interpretation is said that the word *mlēcchaḥ* is freely used to denote ungrammatical word or expression. The word म्लेच्छाः may also mean 'censured

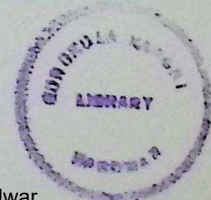
1. म्लेच्छाः पापिनो मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम्, अपशब्दवर्जनस्य व्याकरणाधीनत्वात् इति भाष्यार्थः । म्लेच्छवन्म्लेच्छाः तद्वदपशब्दभाषणपरा मा भूमेति भाष्यार्थ इति नवीनाः (प्रदीपोद्योतने)

2. ते असुराः indicates that the topic dealing with it is closed. The same method is followed in दुष्टः शब्दः etc.

3. तत्र केचिदाहुः “हैह्येप्रयोगे हैह्योः” इति प्लुते प्रकृतिभावे च कर्तव्ये तदकरणं म्लेच्छनमिति । पदद्विवचने कार्ये वाक्यद्विवचनं लवं च म्लेच्छनमित्यपरे ।

4. Cf. हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति वदन्तः परावभूवुः ... तस्मात् ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेत (Śatapatha III. 2, 1, 23 & 24)

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beings.' Bhartṛhari in his Pradīpikā says that तेऽसुराः... is an *arthavāda* and *mlēcchā mā bhūma* means, according to some, *mā parābhūma*.

दुष्टः शब्दः ।

दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः¹ स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥ इति

दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ष्महीत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [दुष्टः शब्दः]

Word that is incorrectly pronounced either from the standpoint of *svara* (accent) or *varṇa* (letter) gives the non-desired meaning and hence is not able to convey the desired meaning. It serves as speech-thunderbolt and brings out the ruin of the sacrificer as the word *Indraśatruḥ* which was pronounced with a wrong accent. In order that we may not use wrong words, grammar is to be studied.

The allusion referred to is this :—*Vṛtra*,² an asura, wanted to bring forth a son who could kill Indra, his foe. So he performed a sacrifice in which he pronounced the *mantra* *Indraśatruḥ varddhasva* which means 'may you, *Indraśatru* flourish!' Here the word *इन्द्रशत्रुः* is capable of giving two meanings :—the slayer of Indra and one who could be slain by Indra. If it should convey the former meaning, the last syllable is to be accented and if it is the latter, the word *इन्द्र* should be accented in its usual place. *Vṛtra* wanted only the slayer of Indra. But, while pronouncing the *mantra*, he pronounced the word *इन्द्रशत्रुः* in hot haste by accenting it on the first syllable of *Indra*. The result was that he got a son who could be slain by Indra.

The stanza seems to be an adaptation of the following stanza found in the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā*.

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

1. शत्रुशब्दः घातकमाचष्टे (तै. सं. 1, 1, 1, सायणभाष्यम्)

2. According to *Tāittirīyasaṁhitā* 2, 5, 2, 1, *Tvaṣṭā* is the sacrificer. According to another *śākhā*, *Vṛtra* is the sacrificer (*Pradīpōddyōtana*).

A doubt may arise why the incorrect pronunciation of words should bring out the destruction of the *sacrificer* and not the *officiating priest*, though it is the latter who actually mispronounces the word. Since the priest is only paid for it, neither the gain accrued by the correct pronunciation, nor the loss accrued by the incorrect pronunciation is considered to affect him.

The enumeration of तेऽसुराः and दुष्टः शब्दः is to make the Brāhmaṇas realise that, if they are ignorant of grammar, they will be disqualified to officiate as priests in sacrifices. If, in spite of their ignorance, they are chosen, they will be instrumental in bringing ruin to the sacrificer who chooses them.

यदधीतम्—

यदधीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्द्यते ।

अनग्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित् ॥

तस्मादनर्थकं माधिगीष्महीत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [यदधीतम्] ।

That which is studied (at the feet of the preceptor) and is often repeated as was taught by him without its meaning being understood does not shine (*i.e.* is of no practical utility) like dry fuel thrown on ashes. In order that we may not study without advantage, the knowledge of grammar is necessary.

From this it is evident that there is no use of studying anything without understanding its sense. Much more is it so with respect to the study of the Vedas. That Mahābhāṣyakāra cites this only with special reference to the study of the Vedas is seen from the fact that this stanza with a slight modification forms the supplement, in Nirukta, to the stanza

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।

योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा । (N. 1. 6. 2.)

It means this:—He who studies Veda without knowing its meaning is evidently a pillar serving as rest for loads; but, on the other hand, he who understands the meaning gets all kinds of happiness and reaches Heaven after having his sins removed with his knowledge.

The Nirukta reading is *yad grhītam* instead of *yad adhītam*.

यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते—

यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते कुशलो विशेषे शब्दान्यथावद् व्यवहारकाले ।

सोऽनन्तमामोति जयं परत्र वाग्योगविद् दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ॥

The learned grammarian who uses the right word in the right place gets unbounded success elsewhere, while the other man (the non-grammarian) fares ill by the use of incorrect words.

Mahābhāṣyakāra evokes a discussion on the *subject* of the verb *duṣyati*. The *pūrvapakṣa* is that *vāgyōgavit* which immediately precedes दुष्यति is its subject and the *siddhānta* is that अवाग्योग-वित् is understood before दुष्यति and it alone can be its subject. The discussion runs as follows:—

कः? Who?

वाग्योगविदेव Evidently the grammarian !

कुत एतत्? On what authority is this ?

यो हि शब्दान् जानाति अपशब्दानप्यसौ जानाति ; यथैव हि शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः एवम् अपशब्दज्ञानेऽपि अधर्मः । अथ वा भूयानधर्मः प्राप्नोति—भूयांसोऽपशब्दाः, अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः, एकैकस्य हि शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः । तद्यथा—गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयो अपभ्रंशाः ॥

For he who knows the correct words knows also incorrect ones. As merit accrues with the knowledge of correct words, demerit also accrues with that of incorrect ones. Or, the greater becomes the demerit, since the incorrect words are greater in number ; for a correct word is mispronounced in many ways ; for instance, the correct word *gāuḥ* (which denotes cow) is mispronounced in many ways like *gāvī*, *gōṇī*, *gōtā*, *gōpōtalikā* etc. (The word गोणी when it means a sack is correct).

अथ योऽवाग्योगवित्? Then what about the non-grammarian ?

अज्ञानं तस्य शरणम् Ignorance is his resort.

विषम उपन्यासः । नात्यन्ताय अज्ञानं शरणं भवितुमर्हति । यो ह्यजानन् वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् सुरां वा पिबेत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

Illogical is the argument. Ignorance cannot completely serve as resort. He who murders a Brāhmaṇa, or who drinks liquor without knowing that either brings forth sin is, I think, a sinner.

एवं तर्हि, सोऽनन्तमामोति जयं परत्र वाग्योगवित्; दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ।
(Here it must be understood that he reads it in such a way as to stop after *vāgyōgavit*, so that it may be taken as the subject of *āpnōti* in the previous line).

If so सोऽनन्तम् अपशब्दैः ।

कः? Who?

अवाग्योगविदेव Evidently the non-grammarian.

अथ यो वाग्योगवित्? Then, what about the grammarian?

विज्ञानं तस्य शरणम् Knowledge is his resort.

क पुनरिदं पठितम् Is there any book where this is read?

भ्राजा नाम श्लोकाः The verses named *bhrāja*.

किं च भोः श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम्?

Oh sir, do *ślōkas* also stand as authority?

किं चातः? What if?

यदि श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम्, अयमपि प्रमाणं भवितुमर्हति—

यदुदुम्बरवर्णानां घटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।

पीतं न गमयेत्स्वर्गं किं तत्क्रतुगतं नयेत् ॥ इति

If *ślōkas* also stand as authority, this too which means—when jars of red liquor drunk cannot lead to Heaven, how can a drop of it drunk in sacrifices do it?—may serve as authority.

प्रमत्तगीत एष तत्रभवतः This is the expression of the revered when he is not in right mood. यस्तु अप्रमत्तगीतस्तत् प्रमाणम्. [यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते]. That which is said when he is in right mood is an authority.

The sentence *kva punar idam paṭhitam?* means *ka ēṣa yatra punar idam paṭhitam?* The verses named *bhrāja* are ascribed

to *Kātyāyana*. Kāiṣa says that, though this verse in question (यस्तु प्रयुक्ते) is one among *bhrāja śloka*s, it is still taken to be authority since it agrees in meaning with the Vēdic text एकः शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुष्ठु प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग्भवति.

He again says that *duṣyati* is taken to be the predicate of *a-vāgyōgavit* and not *vāgyōgavit* on the authority of the maxim *Prakaraṇāt sāmāthyam balīyaḥ* (*Capacity to qualify* is stronger than *proximity*); herē the word प्रकरण means only सन्निधि (proximity) (i.e.) the word दुष्यति is capable of being taken only with अवग्योगवित्, though the word वाग्योगवित् is near it.

From this it is evident that one gets all happiness only when he is capable of using the right word in the right place. This suggests that only such persons will be chosen to officiate as priests. This can be done only with the knowledge of grammar. Hence grammar helps Brāhmaṇas to get fees in the sacrifices and success elsewhere.

अविद्वांसः

अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे नाम्नो ये न प्लुतिं विदुः ।

कामं तेषु तु विप्रोष्य स्त्रीष्विवायमहं वदेत् ॥

अभिवादे स्त्रीवन्मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [अविद्वांसः]

Those illiterate persons who do not know that *pluti* (the use of three *mātrās*) must be made use of while blessing a man who prostrates, must be prostrated in the same way as women after one returns to his place after some time and be told by him that he is such by name. Grammar is to be studied lest we should be treated like women in *abhivādana*.

From this we learn that knowledge of grammar is needed to keep up one's dignity as a learned Brāhmaṇa.

विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति “प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः कार्याः” इति ।

न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः शक्याः कर्तुम् ।

[विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति]

Chapters dealing with sacrifices read that the *prayāja* mantras should be recited with the proper cases. But for the knowledge of grammar, it is not possible to do.

Prayājas are the subsidiary *hōmas* in the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice. It is a duty enjoined by the Vedas to be performed by a house-holder in the same way as *sthālīpāka* enjoined by the Smṛtis to be performed by the same person. Even though the mantras for *prayāja* *hōmas* are completely read, yet he is allowed to perform an *iṣṭi* if the *yajamāna* is attacked of stomach-ache after *ādhāna* or meets with a great disaster within a year, where the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. Hence while performing it, he is to change the mantras in such a way as to suit it.

This is the same as the *ūha* mentioned before. Hence it is clear that the second set of *prayōjanas* mentioned is quotation from previous author or authors.

यो वा इमाम्—

यो वा इमां पदशः स्वरशोऽक्षरशश्च वाचं विदधाति, स आर्त्विजीनो भवति ।
आर्त्विजीनाः स्याम इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् । यो वा इमाम् ॥

He who can pronounce the mantras correctly with respect to words, accent and letters is fit to become a sacrificer or to officiate as priest in sacrifices. Grammar is to be studied so that we may be qualified to become priests or to perform sacrifices.

The word *ārtvijīnaḥ* means a sacrificer if it is split as *ṛtvijam arhati* on the strength of the sūtra *Yajñartvigbhyām ghakhañāu* (P). It means a priest if it is split as *ṛtvik-karma arhati* on the strength of the vārttika *Yajñartvigbhyām tatkarmārhatītyupasañkhyānam*.

This is also more or less the same as mentioned in *yas tu prayuñktē kuśalō viśēṣē* etc.

चत्वारि—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शिर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्या आर्विवेश ॥ इति

चत्वारि शृङ्गाणि—चत्वारि पदजातानि, नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । त्रयो अस्य पादाः—त्रयः कालाः, भूतभविष्यद्वर्तमानाः । द्वे शीर्षे—द्वौ शब्दात्मानौ, नित्यः कार्यश्च । सप्त हस्तासो अस्य—सप्त विभक्तयः । त्रिधा बद्धः, त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्धः, उरसि कण्ठे शिरसीति । वृषभो, वर्षणात् । रोरवीति, शब्दं करोति । कुत एतत् ? रौतिः शब्दकर्म । महो देवो मर्त्या आविवेशेति—महान् देवः, शब्दः; मर्त्याः, मरणधर्माणो मनुष्याः; तान् आविवेश । महता देवेन नः साम्यं यथा स्याद् इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥

The *Vṛṣabha* which has four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands and which is bound in three places cries that the Great God entered the mortals. The four horns—the four parts of speech—noun, verb, *upasarga* (preposition) and *nipāta*. Its three feet—the three tenses, past, future and present. Two heads—the two kinds of *śabda*, *nitya* (eternal) and *kārya* (non-eternal). Its seven hands—the seven cases. It is bound three-fold—It is bound at three places—chest, neck and head. The word *vṛṣabha* is derived from the root *vṛṣ*. The word *rōravīti* means 'makes noise.' Whence is it? The root *ru* means to make noise. The Great God entered the mortals—the Great God is *śabda*; the word *martyāḥ* literally means mortals and hence men; He entered them. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become one with the Great God.

Mahō dēvaḥ here refers to *Śabdabrahman*. It has already been mentioned that Indian Grammarians recognise four phases of speech-sound, of which *parā* is considered to be *nitya* and the other three *paśyanti*, *madhymā* and *vāikharī* are *kārya*. The word *pada-jātāni* in the Bhāṣya text refers, in the opinion of Nāgōjibhaṭṭa, the four phases of speech-sound, since, otherwise *ca* at the end of *nāmākhyātōpasarganipātāḥ* cannot be appropriate. But from the following reading of Nirukta *Catvāri pad-jātāni nāmākhyātē cōpasarganipātāś ca* I think Mahābhāṣyakāra also may have had the same reading. Though *upasargas* are only *nipātas* at a particular setting, yet they have been mentioned following the maxim called *gōbalīvarda-nyāya*. *Sāmyam* is interpreted by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa to refer to *sāyujyam* on the strength of the *kārikā* of Bhartrhari,

अपि प्रयोक्तुरात्मानं शब्दमन्तरवस्थितम् ।

प्राहुर्महान्तमृषमं येन सायुज्यमिष्यते ॥

The *Rk Catvāri*....is the third *Rk* in the 58th sūkta of the fourth maṇḍala in Ṛgveda. Sāyaṇācārya, in his bhāṣya, says that, since the presiding deity of this *Rk* is one of five deities, this *Rk* is interpreted in five ways: Cf.

सूक्तस्य अग्निसूर्यादिपञ्चदेवतात्मकत्वात् पञ्चधा अयं मन्त्रो व्याख्येयः । तथापि निरुक्ताद्युक्तरीत्या यज्ञात्मकाग्नेः सूर्यस्य च प्रकाशकत्वेन तत्परतया व्याख्यायते....

The same *Rk* is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta XIII, 1-7. The expression *catvāri*, Mahābhāṣyakāra says, is taken by others to refer to the following *Rk*. This clearly shows that this set of *prayōjanas* was in vogue long before the time of Mahābhāṣyakāra.

अपर आह—

१ चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।

गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि—चत्वारि पदजातानि, नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः । मनस ईषिणो मनीषिणः । गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति, गुहायां त्रीणि निहितानि नेङ्गयन्ति, न चेष्टन्ते, न निमिषन्तीत्यर्थः । तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति । तुरीयं वा एतद्वाचो यन्मनुष्येषु वर्तते चतुर्थमित्यर्थः ॥ चत्वारि ॥

Others say :—

There are four kinds of speech-sound, which are seen by those Brāhmaṇas who have controlled their mind. Three of them are not cognizable, since they are inside the body. Men speak out only the fourth.

The four kinds of speech-sound—the four kinds are noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipāta*. They are seen by *manīṣins*. *Manīṣins* are those who have controlled their mind. Three

1. तिष्ठो वाचो निहिता अन्तरस्मिन्

तासामेका वि पश्यातु चोषम् (A. V. VII, 44, 1)

do not exhibit themselves being kept in *guhā*—three are kept in *guhā*—the meaning of नेङ्गयन्ति is, they do not operate (i.e.) exhibit. Men speak out the fourth—that which is among men is the fourth phase of the speech-sound.

The same Ṛk is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta XIII. 1. 9., where *catvāri padāni* is explained thus :—

चत्वारि पदानि ओंकारो महाव्याहृतयश्चेत्यार्षं, नामाख्याते च उपसर्गनिपाताश्च इति वैयाकरणाः, मन्त्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मणं चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति याज्ञिकाः, ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः । etc.

It means this :—The four padas are, in the opinion of seers, *praṇava* and three *vyāhṛtis*; they are, in the opinion of grammarians, noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipāta*; according to sacrificers they are *mantra*, *kalpo*, *brāhmaṇa* and the fourth that is in vogue; they, according to Nāiruktas, are *ṛk*, *yajus*, *sāman* and those that are in vogue. It appears as the 45th Ṛk in 164th sūkta of the first maṇḍala in Ṛgvēda. Sāyaṇa in his commentary mentions in addition to what has been mentioned in Nirukta,

अपरे मान्निकाः प्रकारान्तरेण प्रतिपादयन्ति परा पश्यन्ती मध्यमा वैखरीति चत्वारि ।

Other *māntrikas* think that the four are *parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vāikhari*. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa explains *pada-jātāni* thus :— *parāpaśyantīmadhyamāvāikhariyaḥ nāmādīni ca*. He seems to have added *परापश्यन्तीमध्यमावैखर्यः* since it is said that three of them are not cognizable and since it was recognised by grammarians that, of the four phases of speech-sound, *परा*, *पश्यन्ती* and *मध्यमा* are not cognizable to those other than Yōgins.

उत त्वः —

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।

उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्ते जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥

अपि खल्वेकः पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति वाचम्, अपि खल्वेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम्; इति अविद्वांसमाह अर्धम् । उतो त्वस्मै, तन्वं-विसस्ते—तनुं विवृणुते ।

जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः—तद्यथा, जाया पत्ये कामयमाना सुवासाः स्वमात्मानं विवृणुते, एवं वाग् वाग्निदे स्वात्मानं विवृणुते । वाङ्मनो विवृणुयादात्मानम् इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ उत त्वः ॥

One, though he sees *vāk* (speech), does not see her; one, though he hears her, does not hear her. Thus the first half of the stanza speaks of one who is not learned in grammar. She discloses her body to some one in the same way as a lady opens herself to her husband when she is in clean dress and wants his company. So speech opens herself to the grammarian. In order that *vāk* may open herself to us, grammar is to be studied.

The word *uta* means 'though' and the word *tvaḥ* means 'one'. The expression *paśyannapi na paśyati vācam* means 'though he sees, he does not see speech.' The word *uta* qualifies पश्यन् and not त्वः. The expression अपि खल्वेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम् means 'though one hears, he does not hear her.' The word *tanvam* is the earlier form of *tanum* (which means body.) The word *visasrē* means 'discloses.' The expression *jāyēva patyē vśatī suvāsāḥ* means 'it is like the wife who, being in clean dress and eager to meet her husband, opens herself. The word आत्मानं may here be taken to mean both *mind and body*. (The body and mind of *vāk* is evidently her *meaning*). It is clear that the latter half of the stanza speaks of the learned grammarian.

The word *tvaḥ* in two places and *tvasmāi* in the latter half suggest that one in, say, a hundred takes to study grammar, one in, say, a thousand studies to understand it, and one in, say, a ten thousand or so is able to completely master it.

The word *suvāsāḥ* suggests, as is stated in Yāska's Nirukta, that she is in her clean *ṛtukāla*. *Ṛtukāla* is the period of *sixteen* days beginning with the commencement of her monthly period and it, excluding the first three or four days, is considered to be the period of conception. It deserves to be noted that the injunction *ṛtāu upēyāt* (one should meet his wife in *ṛtukāla*) found in Dharmasūtras is taken to be a *niyama-vidhi* for those

who have not given birth to a son ; (i.e.) if they do not meet their wives in that period, they will meet with demerit.

This *Rk* “*Uta tvaḥ....*” is found in the *R̥gvēda* as the fourth *Rk* in the 71st *sūkta* of the 10th *maṇḍala*. In commenting upon it *Sāyaṇācārya* explains thus.—

पश्यन्नपि—मनसा पर्यालोचयन्नपि । न ददर्श—दर्शनफलाभावान्न पश्यति ।
उशती—संभोगं कामयमाना

It is commented upon in *Nirukta* (l. 6. 3) thus :—

अप्येकः पश्यन्न पश्यति वाचम् । अपि च शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् इत्यविद्वांस-
माहार्धम्—अप्येकस्मै तन्वं विसस इति स्वमात्मानं विवृणुते ज्ञानं प्रकाशनमर्थस्याहानया
वाचोपमोत्तमया वाचा जायेव पत्ये, कामयमाना ऋतुकालेषु सुवासाः कल्याणवासाः
कामयमाना ऋतुकालेषु । यथा स एनां पश्यति स शृणोतीत्यर्थज्ञप्रशंसा ॥

सक्तुमिव—

सक्तुमिव तितुना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमकृत ।

अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि ॥

सक्तुः सचतेर्दुर्धावो भवति, कसतेर्वा विपरीताद्विकसितो भवति । तितुः परि-
पवनं भवति—ततवद्वा, तुन्नवद्वा । धीराः—ध्यानवन्तः । मनसा—प्रज्ञानेन ।
वाचमकृत—वाचमकृषत । अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते—अत्र सखायः सन्तः
सख्यानि जानते । क ? य एष दुर्गो मार्गः एकगम्यो वाग्निषयः । के पुनस्ते ?
वैयाकरणाः । कुत एतत् ? भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि—एषां वाचि भद्रा लक्ष्मी-
र्निहिता भवति । लक्ष्मीर्लक्षणाद्भासनात्परिवृद्धा भवति ॥ सक्तुमिव ॥

Where learned men sift correct words from incorrect ones through knowledge as people the flour of barely meal through sieve, there they, being friends of words or having unblemished knowledge throughout, are able to see the true meaning ; for the propitious Goddess *Lakṣmī* resides in their speech.

The word *saktuḥ* is derived from the root *sac* and hence literally means that which can be cleaned only with difficulty. Or it is derived from the root *kas*, has by metathesis, assumed this form and means ‘that which is spread.’ The word *titau* means ‘sieve’ and it is so since it is wide or perforated.

The word *dhīrāḥ* means 'learned men.' The word *manasā* means 'through knowledge.' The expression *vācam akrata* means 'made words' (*i.e.*) sifted correct words from incorrect ones. In the expression *atrā sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānatē* the word *santah* is understood after *sakhāyaḥ*. *Atra* is lengthened to *atrā* for the sake of metre. Where? (*i.e.*) to which place does the word *atra* refer? That which is difficult of access and which can be achieved only through speech. Who are they? (*i.e.*) to whom does *sakhāyaḥ* refer? Grammarians. Why is it so? For the propitious Goddess Lakṣmī resides in their speech. The word Lakṣmī is derived from the root *lakṣ* which means to shine and hence she becomes the lord.

This *Rk* is found in the *Ṛgvēda* as the second *Rk* of 71st sūkta of the 10th maṇḍala and it is commented upon in Yāska's *Nirukta* (IV. 2. 1 & 2). The expression सखायः सख्यानि जानते is interpreted in different ways. Sāyaṇācārya gives two interpretations :—(1) They possessing the knowledge of the *śāstra* are able to understand the contents of the *śāstra* correctly. (2) They, being friends, get the fruits to be obtained by the knowledge of speech.

सखायः समानख्यानाः शास्त्रादिविषयज्ञानाः, ते सख्यानि तेषु भवानि ज्ञानानि जानते जानन्ति, यद्वा सखायः वाचा बद्धसख्याः ... सख्यानि जानन्ति वाक्ययुक्ता-
नभ्युदयान् लभन्ते ॥ (Sāyaṇa).

Durgācārya, the commentator on *Nirukta*, interprets it thus :—They having the same knowledge as others are able to gauge the merits of their partners. *Cf.*

समानख्यानानामेव समानेषु शास्त्रेषु कृतश्रमाणां...सख्यानि — विज्ञानानि...
इतरेतरस्य यो विज्ञानप्रकर्षः, तं जानते ॥

Nāgōjibhaṭṭa, on the other hand, interprets it thus :—They knowing that everything is Brahman become one with Him.

Cf. सखायः समानख्यातयः समानज्ञानाः तच्छब्दे ब्रह्मैकत्वज्ञानवन्तस्तेनैव दृष्टान्तेन सर्वपदार्थेषु ब्रह्मनिरूपिताभेदज्ञानवन्तः सख्यानि सायुज्यानि जानते प्राप्नुवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

Nāgōjibhaṭṭa is of opinion that the *ṛks*

चत्वारि शृङ्गा...चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि, उत त्वः ...and सक्तुमिव...
show that the study of grammar enables one to attain *mōkṣa*.

सारस्वतीम्—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—“आहिताग्निरपशब्दं प्रयुज्य प्रायश्चित्तीयां सारस्वतीमिष्टिं
निर्वपेदिति” । प्रायश्चित्तीया मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ सारस्वतीम् ॥

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus :—If a house-holder performing *agnihōtra* mispronounces a word, he will have to perform an expiatory ceremony (*iṣṭi*) called *sārasvatī iṣṭi*. In order that we may not be put to the necessity of performing expiatory ceremonies, grammar is to be studied.

दशम्यां पुत्रस्य—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—“दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम विदध्याद् घोषवदा-
द्यन्तरन्तःस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषानूकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितम् । तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति । द्यक्षरं
चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम्” इति । न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं कृतस्तद्धिता
वा शक्या विज्ञातुम् ॥ दशम्यां पुत्रस्य ॥

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus :—

On the day following the tenth from the birth of a son,¹ a name should be given to him. The name should have for its initial a voiced letter, should have the semi-vowels in the middle, should not have a *vrddhi* letter as the first of its vowels, should have been current within three generations and should not be one very popular among his enemies' families. Only such a name enables him to have long life, success in life etc. It should contain two or four letters, should be made of a stem and a primary suffix and not a secondary suffix. Without the knowledge of grammar one does not know whether the suffix is primary or secondary. A study of Dharmasūtras enables one to understand that the expression *dvyaḥṣaram caturakṣaram vā* is *upalakṣaṇa* and should be taken to mean even number of letters.

1. This is the meaning given by the Mahābhāṣyakāra to the expression *Daśamyām putrasya* found in Dharmaśāstras.

It is to be noted here that the names of men should contain even number of letters and those of women should contain odd number of letters. Since Mahābhāṣyakāra repeats the opinion of Dharmasūtrakāras that a word should not have its first vowel a *vrddhi* letter, is it possible to assume that the names like *Rāmaḥ*, *Nārāyaṇaḥ* were not given to men in his time or before him?

सुदेवो असि—

सुदेवो असि वरुण यस्य ते सप्त सिन्धवः ।

अनु क्षरन्ति काकुदं सूर्य सुषिरामिव ॥

सुदेवो असि, वरुण, सत्यदेवोऽसि । यस्य ते, सप्त सिन्धवः, सप्त विभक्तयः अनुक्षरन्ति काकुदम् । काकुदं तालु—काकुर्जिह्वा, सा अस्मिन्नुद्यत इति काकुदम् । सूर्य सुषिरामिव । तद्यथा शोभनामूर्मि सुषिरामग्निरन्तः प्रविश्य दहति, एवं ते सप्त सिन्धवः सप्त विभक्तयः ताल्वनुक्षरन्ति । तेनासि सत्यदेवः । ¹ सत्यदेवाः स्यामेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ सुदेवो असि ॥

Oh *Varuṇa*! you are a true God since the seven oceans (of cases) spirt out of your palate like fire through the holes from within a perforated iron image.

Sudēvō asi means *satyadēvōssi*. Your seven oceans are the seven cases. The word *kākudam* means palate. The word *kākuḥ* means tongue. Since the tongue acts upon the palate, it is called *kākudam*. Just as fire from within a perforated well-made iron image spirts out, so also the seven case-oceans spirt out of your palate. Hence you are *satyadēva*. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become *satyadēvas*.

This *Rk* is the 12th *Rk* of the 58th *sūkta* of the eighth *maṇḍala* in *R̥gvēda*. *Sāyaṇācārya* in his commentary takes the word *sindhavaḥ* to mean rivers. The same *Rk* is commented upon in *Nirukta* V. 4-9.

1. सत्यदेवः स्याम् is another reading. Considering म्लेच्छा मा भूम, दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ष्महि ... सत्यदेवाः स्याम is the better reading.

किं पुनरिदं व्याकरणमेवाधिजिगांसमानेभ्यः प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते, न पुनरन्यदपि किञ्चित्? ओम् इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः¹ शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति ॥

Why is the enumeration of benefits accruing from the study of Vyākaraṇa alone made and not from that of any other (like the study of the Vedas etc.)? They say 'ōm' and begin to repeat chapter by chapter the Vēdic words commencing from *śam*.

पुरा कल्प एतदासीत्—संस्कारोत्तरकालं ब्राह्मणा व्याकरणं² स्माधीयते । तेभ्यस्तत्स्थानकरणनादानुप्रदानज्ञेभ्यो वैदिकाः शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते । तदद्यत्वे न तथा । वेदमधीत्य त्वरिता वक्तारो भवन्ति—वेदान्नो वैदिकाः शब्दाः³ सिद्धाः, लोकाच्च लौकिकाः, अनर्थकं व्याकरणमिति । तेभ्य एवं विप्रतिपन्नबुद्धिभ्योऽध्येतृभ्यः सुहृद् भूत्वा आचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे इमानि प्रयोजनान्यध्येयं व्याकरणमिति ॥

This was in the old *kalpa* that the Brāhmaṇas studied grammar after their *upanayana*. The Vedas were then taught to them who had a knowledge of the place of production and the effort, internal and external, of sounds. But now it is not so. After studying the Vedas, they hasten to become teachers thinking that, since they know Vēdic words from the study of Vedas and the *lāukika* words from their contact with the world, the study of grammar is unnecessary. The Ācārya (Mahābhāṣyakāra) out of affection towards such scholars with wrong notions, narrates this portion containing the benefits accruing from the study and hence the need of the study of Grammar.

1. Annambhaṭṭa in his *Uddyōtana* says that the correct reading is *vytāntam* and it governs *paṭhanti* so that it means *thoroughly* (i.e.) in such a way that they can be pronounced without another's help. Cf.

वृत्तान्तमिति क्रियाविशेषणम्, स्वाधीनोच्चरणक्षमं यथा भवति तथा पठन्तीत्यर्थः । एतेन 'वृत्तान्तं शमित्येवमादीन्' इति भाष्यपाठः प्रामाणिकः, 'वृत्तान्तशः...' इति शसन्तपाठः प्रामादिक इति ज्ञेयम्.

Bhartṛhari in his *Pradīpikā* seems to have preferred *vytāntataḥ* to *vytāntaśaḥ* Cf. तत्राद्यादित्वात्तसिः... अन्येषां वृत्तान्तशः इति पाठः and takes that वृत्तान्त means प्रपाठक.

2. व्याकरणं नामेयमुत्तरा विद्या (Vol. IV p. 55)

3. The word *śabdāḥ* is omitted in some editions.

उक्तः शब्दः । स्वरूपमप्युक्तम् । प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि ॥

(The classification of) word has been said; its definition has been given and the benefits have been narrated.

V

शब्दानुशासनमिदानीं कर्तव्यम् । तत्कथं कर्तव्यम्, किं शब्दोपदेशः कर्तव्यः, आहोस्विद् अपशब्दोपदेशः, आहोस्विद् उभयोपदेशः इति ?

Śabdānuśāsana is now to be expounded. How should it be done? Is a list of correct words to be given, or a list of incorrect words or both?

अन्यतरोपदेशेन कृतं स्यात् । तद्यथा भक्ष्यनियमेन अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते—
'पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः' ¹ इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् अतोऽन्ये अभक्ष्या इति । अभक्ष्य-
प्रतिषेधेन वा भक्ष्यनियमः; तद्यथा 'अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटः, अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यसूकरः'
इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् 'आरण्यो भक्ष्यः' इति । एवमिहापि—यदि तावच्छब्दोपदेशः
क्रियते, गौरित्येतास्मिन्नुपदिष्टे, गम्यत एतद्गान्धादयोऽपशब्दा इति । अथाप्यपशब्दोपदेशः
क्रियते, गान्धादिषु उपदिष्टेषु, गम्यत एतद् 'गौरित्येष शब्दः' इति ॥

It is done by *either* method. From the injunction restricting the eatables, the non-eatables are inferred. When the injunction "Eat five five-clawed animals" is pronounced, it is inferred that all but those five animals are non-eatable. Similarly from the injunction restraining the non-eatables, the eatables are inferred. When the injunction 'Do not eat the domestic cock and the domestic pig' is pronounced, it is inferred that the wild cock and boar may be eaten. Similar is the case here also; if the list of correct words like *gāuḥ* is given, it is inferred that *gāvī* etc., are incorrect and if, on the other hand, the list of incorrect words like *gāvī* etc. is given, it may be inferred that *gāuḥ* etc. are correct words.

NOTE 1. *Pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyāḥ*—Is this *apūrvavidhi*, *niyamavidhi* or *parisaṅkhyāvidhi*? Since there is always

1. Cf. पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या ब्रह्मक्षत्रेण राघव ।

शल्यकः श्वाविधो गोधा शशः कूर्मश्च पञ्चमः ॥ (रामायणे, कि. 17, 39)

भक्ष्याः श्वाविधोधाशशल्यककच्छपखड्गाः खड्गवर्जाः पञ्चनखाः (Bōdh. Dharma. 1-5, 131) and (Mahābhārata, śānti, 141, 70.)

a craving for every one to eat anything and hence even without this injunction one may eat the flesh of the five five-clawed animals, it is not *apūrva-vidhi* like *Vrīhīn prōkṣati*.

It may be taken as *parisaṅkhyāvidhi* like *Imām aṅṛbhṇan raśanām ṛtasya iti aśvābhīdhānīm ādattē*, since by this injunction one is prevented from tasting the flesh of animals other than these five. Still Mahābhāṣyakāra takes it to be a *niyama-vidhi*, since it also wards off one from doing what is not mentioned there.

Cf. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement:—पाक्षिकाप्राप्तिकाप्राप्तांशपरिपूरण-
फलो नियमः, अन्यनिवृत्तिफला च परिसङ्ख्येति चेन्न । नियमेऽप्यप्राप्तांशपरिपूरणरूप-
फलबोधनद्वारा अर्थादन्यनिवृत्तेः सत्त्वेन अभेदमाश्रित्योक्तेः ॥

NOTE 2. From Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement:—ये तु पञ्चपदस्य तदतिरिक्ते लक्षणा, भक्ष्यपदस्य च अभक्ष्ये सा it is clear that some scholars took *pañca* to mean 'other than five' and *bakṣyāḥ* to mean *abhakṣyāḥ*; Nāgōjibhaṭṭa refutes them. Among many reasons cited in support of his view, the most important is the statement of Mahābhāṣyakāra himself भक्ष्यनियमेन अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः? लघुत्वात् शब्दोपदेशः—लघीयान् शब्दोपदेशः; गरीयान् अपशब्दोपदेशः; एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः, तद्यथा—गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः । इष्टान्वाख्यानं खल्वपि भवति ।

Which is better here? The enumeration of correct words (is better) since it is easier—The enumeration of correct words is easier and that of incorrect words is longer; for every correct word, there are many corrupt forms. For instance the corruptions of the word *gāuḥ* are *gāvī*, *gōnī*, *gōtā*, *gōpōtalikā* etc. We also have (another advantage of) the direct enumeration of the words that we require.

NOTE 3. The second reason given above suggests that the list of corrupt forms cannot enable us to understand the correct form of a word.

अथैतस्मिन् शब्दोपदेशे सति किं शब्दानां प्रीतिपत्तौ प्रीतिपदपाठः कर्तव्यः, गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्ती, शकुनिः, मृगः, ब्राह्मणः इत्येवमादयः शब्दाः पठितव्याः ? नेत्याह, अनभ्युपाय एष शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः । एवं हि श्रूयते—‘बृहस्पति-रिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं¹ प्रोवाच, नान्तं जगाम । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्च अध्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रम् अध्ययनकालः, न चान्तं जगाम । किं पुनरद्यत्वे ? यः सर्वथा चिरं जीवति स वर्षशतं जीवति ; चतुर्भिश्च प्रकारैर्विद्या उप-युक्ता भवति आगमकालेन, स्वाध्यायकालेन, प्रवचनकालेन, व्यवहारकालेन इति । तत्र च अस्य आगमकालेनैव आयुः कृत्स्नं² पर्युपयुक्तं स्यात् । तस्मात् अनभ्युपायः शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः ॥

When it has thus been decided that the list of correct words is to be given, there arises the question whether an inventory of all available correct words should be taken. Are we to enumerate words like *gāuḥ*, *aśvaḥ*, *puruṣaḥ*, *hastī*, *śakuniḥ*, *mṛgaḥ*, *brāhmaṇaḥ* etc. ? ‘No’ says he, ‘for such a list is not an easy means to learn correct words.’ Thus runs a story in scriptures—Bṛhaspati (the preceptor of the gods) taught Indra the work called *Śābdapārāyaṇa* containing all available correct words for thousand divine years, but could not exhaust it ; Bṛhaspati is the teacher, Indra is the student, the period of instruction is thousand divine years and still it was not possible to come to an end. When such is the case, how is it possible now ? He who, after all, lives longest, lives hundred summers ; *Vidyā* is used in four ways in a man’s life-time ; it is learnt at the feet of the guru, it is revised, it is taught to a student and it is made use of in practical life (as in sacrifices etc.) If one attempts to learn at the feet of a guru the list of all correct words, his whole life-time will be used only in learning. Hence *pratipadapāṭha* is not an easy means to get at the knowledge of correct words.

कथं तर्हि इमे शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्याः ? किञ्चित् सामान्यविशेषवलक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम्, येन अल्पेन यत्नेन महतो महतः शब्दौघान् प्रतिपद्येरन् ॥

1. शब्दपारायणं नाम ग्रन्थः (Pradīpikā). शब्दपारायणशब्दः...शास्त्रविशेषे (Pradīpa)

2. The word *kṛtsnam* is not found in some editions,

How then are the correct words to be learnt? Some work formulating general and special rules should be written, so that people can with a little effort learn the vast ocean of words.

किं पुनस्तत् ? उत्सर्गापवादौ — कश्चिदुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः, कश्चिदपवादः । कथं-जातीयकः पुनरुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः कथंजातीयकोऽपवादः ? सामान्येनोत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः, तद्यथा 'कर्मण्यण्' ; तस्य विशेषेणापवादः, तद्यथा 'आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः' ॥

What is it? General rule and exception: some general rule is to be formulated and some exception. How is the general rule to be framed and how the exception? General rule which is to apply to things in general, like *Karmanyan* is to be read and so are exceptions to apply to some special things among them like *Ātōsnupasargē kah*.

NOTE:—The sūtra कर्मण्यण् means that, if in a compound the verb is preceded by the object which qualifies it, the suffix अण् follows the verb; आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः means that, if the verb mentioned above ends in आ and is not preceded by a preposition, it takes the suffix क.

VI

Having thus decided that Grammar formulating general rules and exceptions is necessary to enable one to understand correct words, Mahābhāṣyakāra discusses briefly whether the meaning of words is जाति (genus) or व्यक्ति (individuality) and whether the words are *nitya* or *kārya*.

किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थः, आहोस्विद् द्रव्यम्? उभयमित्याह । कथं ज्ञायते? उभयथा ह्याचार्येण सूत्राणि पठितानि । आकृतिं पदार्थं मत्वा 'जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन् बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम्' इत्युच्यते । द्रव्यं पदार्थं मत्वा 'सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ' इत्येकशेष आरभ्यते ॥

Does a word connote genus or individuality? 'Both' says he. How is it? For, sūtras conceding both the views are written by the *Ācārya* (Pāṇini). The sūtra 'जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन् ...' is read on the idea that the connotation of the words is *genus* and the sūtra 'सरूपाणाम् ...' is read on the idea that it is *individuality*.

NOTE:—It is worth noting that *genus* cannot exist without *vyakti* and the latter cannot without the former. Still there are two classes of schools, one holding that word connotes only *genus* and *vyakti* comes along with it, and the other holding that word connotes only *vyakti* since the former cannot exist away from the latter. But the Ācārya Pāṇini clearly shows in his work that he holds both the views, one in one context and the other in another.

किं पुनर्नित्यः शब्दः, आहोस्वित्कार्यः? सङ्ग्रह एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम्—
नित्यो वा स्यात् कार्यो वेति । तत्रोक्ता दोषाः, प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि । तत्र त्वेष
निर्णयः—यद्येव ¹ नित्यः अथापि कार्यः, उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम् इति ।

Is *śabda nitya* or *kārya*? This was examined in detail in the work *Saṅgraha* whether *śabda* is eternal or non-eternal. Merits and demerits on both sides were noted. This is the conclusion arrived at there, that, irrespective of *śabda* being *nitya* or *kārya*, grammar is to be written.

NOTE:—*Saṅgraha* is a work written by Vyāḍi ² in 100,000 verses. It is unfortunate that the work is almost lost. Mahābhāṣyakāra has already suggested that, if *śabda* refers to *sphōṭa*, it is *nitya* and that, if it refers to *dhvani*—the sound that is produced by the vocal organs—it is *kārya* (pp. 13 & 14).

VII

Having now decided that *Vyākaraṇam* should be written, Mahābhāṣyakāra may have dealt with the topic—the meaning of व्याकरणम्. Without doing it, he deals with the purpose served by व्याकरण. The reason for doing so is that he wants to observe, in the discussion of topics, the order followed by the *Vārttikakāra*, since his *Bhāṣya* is an elaborate commentary on not only Pāṇini's sūtras but also on Kātyāyana's vārttikas.

1. *Ēvam* is another reading.
2. Mention is made of Vyāḍi in the vārttika *Dravyābhidhānam Vyāḍiḥ* under *Sarūpāṇām* ... (Vol. IV. p. 168).

कथं पुनरिदं भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य लक्षणं प्रवृत्तम्¹

How has the Ācārya Pāṇini proceeded in his work?

This serves as an introduction to the first *vārttika* which runs as follows :—

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः,
यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु ॥

When word, its meaning and their relation (or word and the relation with its meaning) are learnt to be *nitya* from the world and word is used only in such meanings as are current there, the śāstra enjoins (the use of correct words) for the sake of *dharma* as in the case of incidents, *lāukika* and *vāidika*.

Here Māhābhāṣyakāra deals in detail with the meanings of *siddhē*, *arthah* and *dharmaḥ* and elucidates the expressions *lōkataḥ* and *lāukikavāidikeṣu* and takes *lōkataḥ* twice, once along with *śabdārthasambandhē* and once with *arthaprayuktē*.

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे—सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति

Here Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests that the *vigraha* of शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे is शब्दश्च अर्थश्च सम्बन्धश्च एतेषां समाहारः, शब्दार्थसम्बन्धम्, तस्मिन्

अथ सिद्धशब्दस्य कः पदार्थः ? नित्यपर्यायवाची सिद्धशब्दः । कथं ज्ञायते ? यत्कूटस्थेषु अविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते ; तद्यथा, सिद्धा द्यौः, सिद्धा पृथिवी, सिद्धमाकाशम् इति ।

Now what is the meaning of the word *siddha*? It is the synonym of *nitya*. How is it so? Since it is used along with objects which do not move and which do not change. Ex. *Siddhā dyāuḥ* (the heaven is *nitya*), *siddhā pṛthivī* (the earth is *nitya*) and *siddham ākāśam* (the sky is *nitya*).

1. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti translates this in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. I, 1925 thus :—Why, again, the grammatical treatise of the venerable Pāṇini has been made? (If words are held to be eternal, what is the use of grammar?) Since the previous sentence is *ubhayathāpi lakṣaṇam pravartya*, the legitimate question that follows is, what doctrine Pāṇini holds in his work. This is clear from Kāyāṭa's statement किमाचार्य एव सृष्टा शब्दार्थसम्बन्धानाम् अथ स्मर्ता इति प्रश्नः

NOTE:—The expressions *siddhā dyāuḥ* etc., are not based upon the conception that *dyāuḥ*, *pr̥thivī* etc., are eternal, but that they are relatively permanent.¹

Mahābhāṣyakāra then quotes instances where the word *siddha* means *anītya*.

ननु च भोः कार्येष्वपि वर्तते; तद्यथा—सिद्ध ओदनः, सिद्धः सूपः, सिद्धा यवागूः इति । यावता कार्येष्वपि वर्तते, तत्र कुत एतन्नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणम्, न पुनः कार्ये यः सिद्धशब्द इति ॥ सद्ब्रूहे तावत् कार्यप्रतिद्वन्द्विभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणमिति; इहापि तदेव ॥

Oh sir, the word *siddha* is used also in relation to transient objects; Ex. *Siddha ōdanah* (food is ready); *siddhah sūpah* (dhal is ready): *siddhā yavāgūḥ* (the yavāgū preparation is ready). Since the word is used in connection with transient objects also, how can it be said that it means *nītya* and not *kārya*? Since the word is used in the Saṅgraha as antonym to *kārya*, we infer that it means *nītya* there; so also here.

Since it is used in Saṅgraha as an antonym to *kārya*, it is but right that it means *nītya* there. Since there is nothing here to decide its meaning one way or the other, Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests another way to come to the same conclusion.

अथवा सन्त्येकपदान्यपि अवधारणानि । तद्यथा—अब्भक्षो वायुभक्ष इति, अप एव भक्षयति, वायुमेव भक्षयति इति गम्यते; एवमिहापि सिद्ध एव, न साध्य इति ॥

Or even single words have the restrictive sense. Ex. *Ab-bhakṣaḥ* and *vāyubhakṣaḥ*. They respectively mean, 'one who feeds himself *only* on water' and 'one who feeds himself *only* on air.' Similarly *siddha* here means *only siddha* and not *sādhya*.

The defect that underlies this explanation is that the words *ab-bhakṣaḥ* and *vāyubhakṣaḥ* are compound words, while the word *siddha* is a single word. In splitting the compound the word *ēva* which denotes restriction may be brought in. Such is not the case with single words. Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra tries to explain it in another way:—

1. Cf. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement. भाष्ये द्वावापृथिव्याद्यपि व्यावहारिकनित्यत्वाभिप्रायेण दृष्टान्तितम्, आकाशस्यापि व्यावहारिकनित्यत्वमेवाचार्याभिमतम् ॥

अथवा पूर्वपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः—अत्यन्तसिद्धः सिद्ध इति ; तद्यथा देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यभामा भागा इति ॥

Or it may be considered that a word which preceded *siddha* has been dropped, its original form being *atyantasiddha* in the same way as *Dattaḥ* is the shortened form of *Dēvadattaḥ* and *Bhāmā* of *Satyabhāmā*.

The defect that underlies this explanation is that, in the case of the words *Dattaḥ* and *Bhāmā* standing respectively for *Dēvadattaḥ* and *Satyabhāmā*, it should be noted that *Dēvadattaḥ* and *Satyabhāmā* are mentioned at the first instance and only later on for the sake of brevity *Dattaḥ* and *Bhāmā* are used.¹ The same is not the case here. Besides there is nothing to suggest that the word *siddhē* is used here to denote *atyanta-siddhē*.

Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests the final solution thus:—

अथवा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति, नित्यपर्याय-वाचिनो ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

If so, we explain that the word *siddha* means *nitya* since a text cannot be thrown away on the ground that it is not clear. Its correct sense should be understood from the commentaries or the interpretation given by the commentators.

किं पुनरनेन वर्णने ; किं न महता कण्ठेन नित्यशब्द एवोपात्तः, यस्मिन्नुपादीयमानेऽसन्देहः स्यात् ?

Why should he give room for this kind of interpretation? Why should he not, with his open mouth, have given expression to the word *nitya*, when there would be no ambiguity?

मङ्गलार्थम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं सिद्धशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते, वीरपुरुषाणि² च भवन्ति आयुष्मत्पुरुषाणि³ च, अध्येतारश्च सिद्धार्था यथा स्युः इति ॥

1. Cf. न तु अनुचारितस्य देवदत्तशब्दस्य पाणिनिरन्यो वा कश्चित् समर्थो लोपं कर्तुम्
(Bhartṛhari's Pradīpikā.)
2. *Virapuruṣakāṇi* is another reading.
3. *Āyusmatpuruṣakāṇi* is another reading.

For the sake of *maṅgala* (auspiciousness). The *Ācārya* (Kātyāyana), eager of reaping the fruit of *maṅgala*, said *siddha* for the sake of *maṅgala* at the commencement of his great work. The works which start with *maṅgala* shine well and enable the scholars to become heroic and long-lived and to have their objects fully accomplished.

NOTE:—It deserves notice that the appellation *Ācārya* is applied by Patañjali not only to Pāṇini but also to Kātyāyana.

Then the author begins to show that, even if the word *nitya* is used instead of *siddha*, it is not free from ambiguity.

अयं खलु नित्यशब्दः नावश्यं कूटस्थेष्वविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते । किं तर्हि ? आभीक्ष्ण्येऽपि वर्तते, तद्यथा नित्यप्रहसितो नित्यप्रजल्पित ¹ इति । यावता आभीक्ष्ण्येऽपि वर्तते तत्ताप्यनेनैवार्थः स्यात्, 'व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम्' इति । पश्यति तु आचार्यो मङ्गलार्थश्चैव सिद्धशब्द आदितः प्रयुक्तो भविष्यति, शक्यामि चैनं नित्यपर्यायवाचिनं ² वर्णयितुमिति । अतः सिद्धशब्द एवोपात्तो न नित्यशब्दः ।

Even this word *nitya* does not invariably connote eternity. What then? It is used to connote repetition also. Ex. *Nitya-prahasitaḥ* (one who ever laughs) and *nitya-prajalpitah* (one who ever prattles). Since it connotes repetition also, it should be freed from ambiguity only by the interpretation of the commentators. The *Ācārya* thinks that the word *siddha* is used at the commencement for the sake of *maṅgala* and I am able to interpret that it means *nitya*. Hence is the use of the word *siddha* and not *nitya*.

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word *siddhē*, the author deals with the statement *śabdē arthē sambandhē* and discusses whether the word *artha* denotes *genus* or *individuality*.

अथ कं पुनः पदार्थं मत्वा एष विग्रहः क्रियते 'सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे च' इति ? आकृतिमित्याह । कुत एतत् ? आकृतिर्हि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् ।

1. *Nityaprajvalitaḥ* is another reading.

2. *Nityaparyāyam* is another reading.

With what meaning (genus or individuality) in mind is the compound split *śabdē arthē sambandhē*? 'Ākr̥ti' (genus), says he. Why is it so? For *ākṛti* is *nityā* and *dravya* is *anitya*.

अथ द्रव्ये पदार्थे कथं विग्रहः कर्तव्यः? सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थसम्बन्धे च इति । नित्यो हि अर्थवतामर्थैरभिसम्बन्धः ॥

If *dravya* is *padārtha*, how is the compound to be split? It is split *śabdē arthasambandhē*; for, the relation of the word to its meaning is *nitya*, (though the meaning *dravya* is *anitya*).

The author then takes the word *ākṛti* to connote shape and deals with the nature of the splitting of the compound then.

अथवा द्रव्य एव पदार्थे एष विग्रहो न्याय्यः—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ; द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या । कथं ज्ञायते? एवं हि दृश्यते लोके-मृत् कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्ता पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य घटिकाः क्रियन्ते, घटिकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कुण्डिकाः क्रियन्ते; तथा सुवर्णं कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्तं पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य रुचकाः क्रियन्ते, रुचकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कटकाः क्रियन्ते, कटकाकृतिमुपमृद्य स्वस्तिकाः क्रियन्ते । पुनरावृत्तः सुवर्णपिण्डः पुनरपरयाकृत्या युक्तः खदिराङ्गारसवर्णे कुण्डले भवतः । आकृतिरन्या चान्या च भवति, द्रव्यं पुनस्तदेव । आकृत्युपमर्देन द्रव्यमेवावशिष्यते ॥

Or the compound is split *śabdē arthē sambandhē* even when the meaning of the word is *dravya*; for the *dravya* always remains the same, while the shape is changing. How is it? So is it seen in the world—Mud in one shape becomes a clod; it is broken and it is converted into small pots; that shape is destroyed and the same mud is made into jars. So also is gold. In one shape it is a ball; it is destroyed and the gold is converted into rings; they are destroyed and it is made into bracelets; that shape is destroyed and it is made into a kind of amulets; that being destroyed, it is made into earrings as bright as red-hot charcoal of ebony wood. The shape changes from one to another, but the material remains the same. Though the shape is destroyed, the material remains.

आकृतावपि पदार्थ एष विग्रहो न्याय्यः—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति । ननु चोक्तम् 'आकृतिरनित्या' इति । नैतदस्ति । नित्या आकृतिः । कथम्? न क्वचिदुपरतेति कृत्वा सर्वत्रोपरता भवति, द्रव्यान्तरस्था तु उपलभ्यते ॥

Even accepting *ākṛti* to be *padārtha*, it is but proper to split the compound *śabdē arthē sambandhē*. Has it not been said that *ākṛti* is *anityā*? No, it is *nityā*. How? Though it is not seen at one place, it does not fail to exist everywhere; it is found in other objects (of the same genus).

NOTE:—*Ākṛti*, when it is considered to be *nityā*, means *genus* and when it is considered to be *anityā*, means *shape*.

अथवा नेदमेव नित्यलक्षणम्—ध्रुवं कूटस्थम् अविचालि अनपायोपजनविकारि अनुत्पत्त्यवृद्धयव्यययोगि यत् तन्नित्यमिति । तदपि नित्यं यस्मिंस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यते । किं पुनस्तत्त्वम्? तद्भावस्तत्त्वम् । आकृतावपि तत्त्वं न विहन्यते ।

Or this is not the definition of *nitya* that it is free from *samsargānityatā*, *pariṇāmānityatā* and *pradhvaṁsānityatā*¹; but *nitya* is that from which its inherent property is never severed. What is *tattva*? *It-ness* is *tattva*. The *tattva* is never separated from *ākṛti*.

NOTE:—*Samsargānityatā* is seen from the apparent red-crystal in the proximity of red-flower. The relation of redness and crystal is *anitya*, since it disappears at the disappearance of the red flower. *Pariṇāmānityatā* is seen in the process of a fruit becoming a ripe fruit. The relation with its colour when it is not ripe disappears when it becomes ripe and hence the colour is *anitya*. *Pradhvaṁsānityatā* is complete destruction.

1. Cf. ध्रुवं कूटस्थमिति संसर्गानित्यता परिहृता; अविचालीति परिणामानित्यता; अनपायेत्यादिना प्रध्वंसानित्यता (Pradīpa). ध्रुवं = स्वाभाविकवस्त्वन्तरसंसर्गरहितम्; कूटस्थम् = आगन्तुकेन संसर्गरहितम्; अविचालि = अपरिणामि । अपायोपजनविकाररहितमित्यस्यैव व्याख्यानम्—अनुत्पत्त्यवृद्धयव्यययोगीति; षड्भावविकारराहित्यं वानेन भाष्येणोच्यते—तत्र, अपायः = नाशः, उपजनः = सत्तासम्बन्धोऽस्तित्वम्, विकारः = परिणामः, उत्पत्तिवृद्धी प्रसिद्धे, व्ययः = अपक्षयः इति (Uddyōtana). ध्रुवपदस्यैव व्याख्यानं कूटस्थमिति; रूपान्तरापत्तिर्विचालः, यथा पयसो दध्यादिरूपता, अनेन परिणामानित्यता परास्ता; उत्पत्तेः सत्तापर्यन्तत्वात् अनुत्पत्तीत्यनेन जन्मसत्तारूपौ भावविकारौ निरस्तौ; अवृद्धीत्यनेन तृतीयो वृद्धिलक्षणः, अनुपजनेति चतुर्थः परिणामः; अनपायेति पञ्चमः अपचयः; अव्ययेति विनाशः (Uddyōta). Nāgōjibhaṭṭa has not given the meaning of *avikāri*; both he and Annambhaṭṭa differ in the meanings of the words *apāya*, *upajana* and *vyaya*. *Utpattiḥ* = birth; *upajanaḥ* = existence or stability; *vṛiddhiḥ* = growth; *vikāraḥ* = transformation; *vyayaḥ* = reduction; *apāyaḥ* = destruction.

अथवा किं न एतेन इदं नित्यम् इदम् अनित्यम् इति । यन्नित्यं तं पदार्थं मत्वैष विग्रहः क्रियते—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ॥

Or of what use is this discussion to us that one is *nitya* and the other *anitya*? On taking the meaning to be *nitya*, we split the compound *śabdē arthē sambandhē*.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते सिद्धः शब्दोऽर्थः सम्बन्धश्चेति? 'लोकतः' । यल्लोके अर्थमर्थमुपादाय शब्दान्प्रयुज्जते, नैषां निर्वृत्तौ यत्नं कुर्वन्ति । ये पुनः कार्या भावाः निर्वृत्तौ तावत्तेषां यत्नः क्रियते, तद्यथा घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह— कुरु घटं, कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्छब्दान् प्रयुयुक्षमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वा आह - कुरु शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्ये इति । तावत्येव अर्थमुपादाय शब्दान् प्रयुज्जते ।

How is it understood that *śabda*, *artha* and *sambandha* are *nitya*? From the world. For words are used to denote objects and no effort is made to coin them. Effort is taken in creating such things as are *kārya*. For instance he who has the use of a pot goes to the potter's house and says, 'Make a pot; I have to use it.' But no one similarly goes to the house of a grammarian and says, 'Coin words; I shall make use of them.' He thinks of the object and makes use of words denoting them.

यदि तर्हि लोक एषु १ प्रमाणम्, किं शास्त्रेण क्रियते? 'लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः' । लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः क्रियते । किमिदं धर्मनियम इति? धर्माय नियमो धर्मनियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः धर्मनियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः धर्मनियमः ॥

If then the world is the authority for the use of words, what purpose is served by the *Vyākaraṇaśāstra*? When words are used in the sense in which each is current in the world, injunction to use the correct word is made by the *śāstra* for the sake of *dharma*. *Dharma-niyama*, what does it mean? It means *niyama* for *dharma*, *niyama* for the sake of *dharma* and *niyama* having for its fruit *dharma*.

1. *Ēṣu śabdēṣu* is another reading.

NOTE:—Kāiṣa splits the compound *dharma-niyamaḥ* only as *dharmaśya niyamaḥ*. If so, Mahābhāṣyakāra does not mention how the compound is split, but brings out the sense of the compound. All the three ways mentioned there—*dharmāya niyamaḥ*, *dharmārthō vā niyamaḥ* and *dharma-prayōjanō vā niyamaḥ* may be taken to mean the same. The only difference is that the second is more explanatory than the first and the third is more explanatory than the second. What is, then, the meaning of *dharma*? It may be interpreted in three ways :

1. नित्यकर्म Cf. निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयः ज्ञेयश्च (M. B. I. 1, 1).
2. यज्ञकर्म Cf. याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमः । (M. B. I. 1, 1).
3. अपूर्वम् Cf. ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मः । (M. B. I. 1, 1).

Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says (as the opinion of some) that, in *dharmāya niyamaḥ*, *dharma* has the first meaning, in *dharmārthō vā niyamaḥ* it has the second meaning and in *dharma-prayōjanō vā niyamaḥ* it has the third meaning. But it is better to take that it has all the three meanings in each one of them.

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु । प्रियतद्धिता दाक्षिणात्याः, यथा लोके वेदे चेति प्रयोक्तव्ये यथा लौकिकवैदिकेष्विति प्रयुज्यते । अथवा युक्त एवात्र तद्धितार्थः, यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावत् अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटः, अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यसूकर¹ इत्युच्यते । भक्ष्यं च नाम क्षुत्प्रतिघातार्थमुपादीयते, शक्यं चानेन श्वमांसादिभिरपि क्षुत् प्रतिहन्तुं, तत्र नियमः क्रियते—इदं भक्ष्यम् इदम् अभक्ष्यम् इति । तथा खेदात् स्त्रीषु प्रवृत्तिर्भवति, समानश्च खेदविगमो गम्यायां च, अगम्यायां च, तत्र नियमः क्रियते - इयं गम्या इयम् अगम्या इति ॥

As in *lāukika* and *vāidika* incidents.² The Southerners are fond of using words with *taddhita* suffixes (without special

1. Cf. Bōdhāyanadharmasūtra 1, 12, 1.

2. The expression *lāukikavāidikēṣu* is taken to mean in the *śmṛti* and *śruti* texts by Kāiṣa and others. But on veiwing this with *śabdaprayōgē* it is better to take it in the sense 'in the incidents of the world and Vedic rituals.' In that case *śāstrēṇa dharmaniyamaḥ* is understood after *lāukika-vāidikēṣu*.

significance). They, instead of using *lōkē* and *vēdē*, use *lāukika-vāidikēṣu*. Or it is but proper that the *taddhita* suffix has a meaning. The term *lāukikuvāidikēṣu* may be taken to mean *lāukikēṣu vāidikēṣu ca kṛtāntēṣu*. There is, with reference to the worldly incident, the saying that the domestic cock should not be eaten nor the domestic pig; food is taken to kill hunger; it may be killed by any one even with dogs' meat; there is the restriction made that one is eatable and the other is non-eatable. Similarly man meets woman to satisfy his sexual craving; it may be had in meeting any woman deserving or non-deserving; there is the restriction made that one is meet-able and the other is non-meet-able.

NOTE:—The mention of the word *dāksīṇātya* suggests that Kātyāyana was a Southerner, while both the *Sūtrakāra* and the *Bhāṣyakāra* were Northerners. Some think that there is a little sneer here.

वेदे खल्वपि—¹ पयोव्रतो ब्राह्मणः, यवागूव्रतो राजन्यः, आमिक्षाव्रतो वैश्यः इत्युच्यते; व्रतं च नाम अभ्यवहारार्थमुपादीयते: शक्यं चानेन शालिमांसादीन्यपि व्रतयितुम्; तत्र नियमः क्रियते । तथा धैर्यः खादिरो वा यूपः स्याद् इत्युच्यते; यूपश्च नाम पशुनुबन्धार्थमुपादीयते; शक्यं चानेन यत्किंचिदेव काष्ठमुच्छ्रित्य अनुच्छ्रित्य वा पशुनुबन्धुम्; तत्र नियमः क्रियते । तथा अग्नौ कपालान् अधिश्रित्य अभिमन्त्रयते—भृगूणामङ्गिरसां धर्मस्य तपसा तप्यध्वम् ² इति; अन्तरेणापि मन्त्रम् अग्निर्दहनकर्मा कपालानि सन्तापयति; तत्र च नियमः क्रियते—एवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति ॥

So with reference to the Vedic rituals it is said that during austerities Brāhmaṇa, if hungry, may take milk, Kṣattriya *yavāgū*, and Vāiśya curd of milk and whey; *vrata* intends only food; rice and meat may serve the same purpose; still restriction is made. So also it is said that the stake to which the sacrificial animal is tied should be of *bilva* tree or *khadira* tree; the stake is intended to tie the sacrificial

1. Cf. यवागू राजन्यस्य व्रतम् ... आमिक्षा वैश्यस्य ... पयो ब्राह्मणस्य (तै. सं. 6, 2, 5)

2. तै. सं. 1. 1, 7.

animal; any piece of wood standing upright or otherwise may serve the purpose; there is the restriction made. Similarly *kapālas*-small pieces of mud—are put in fire and the mantra which means, 'Heat them with the intense heat of Bhṛguś and Aṅgiras' is pronounced; the small pieces will be heated whether the mantra is recited or not; there is the restriction made that, if it is done so, it begets merit.

एवमिहापि समानायामर्थावगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च, धर्मनियमः क्रियते—
शब्देनैव अर्थोऽभिधेयो नापशब्देन इति, एवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति ॥
So here also though the meaning is understood both from the correct word and the corrupt one, still restriction is made that meaning is to be made out only from the correct word, since from it alone accrues merit.

The meaning of the first *vārttika* having been fully explained, there arises a doubt whether word that is not current in the world is correct or not, since it has been said there that it is used only in such meanings as are current in the world.

अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः—

सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ताः ; तद्यथा, ऊष तेर चक्र पेच इति ।

Is but not current—there are evidently words which are not current; viz, *ūṣa*, *tēra*, *cakra* and *pēca*.

किमतो यत्सन्त्यप्रयुक्ताः ? What if there are words not current ?

प्रयोगाद्धि भवाञ्छब्दानां साधुत्वमध्यवस्यति । य इदानीम् अप्रयुक्ताः नामी साधवः स्युः । इदं तावद्विप्रतिषिद्धम्—यदुच्यते सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति—, यदि सन्ति नाप्रयुक्ताः, अथाप्रयुक्ता न सन्ति, सन्ति च अप्रयुक्ताश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥
For, only from usage you determine the correctness of words. Those which are not now in usage cannot be correct. This is at first contradictory to say that there are words but they are not in usage; if they are, they cannot have fallen out of use, and if they have fallen out of use, they cannot exist; they exist but they are not in use is contradictory.

प्रयुञ्जान एवं खलु भवानाह सन्ति शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति ; कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवजातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यात् ?

You use the words and say at the same breath that they are out of use. Who else of your type can make correct use of words?

नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धम्—सन्तीति तावद् ब्रूमः,¹ यदेतान् शास्त्रविदः शास्त्रेणानु-
विदधते । अप्रयुक्ता इति ब्रूमः, यल्लोके अप्रयुक्ता इति । यदप्युच्यते कश्चेदानीमन्यो
भवज्जातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यादिति, न ब्रूमोऽस्माभिरप्रयुक्ता इति ।

This is not contradictory; we first say that they exist since they are formed from the rules of grammar; then we say that they are not in use since they are not used in the world. As regards the statement—who else of your type can make correct use of words?—we do not say that they are not used by us.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

लोके अप्रयुक्ता इति They are not made use of in the world.

ननु च भवानप्यभ्यन्तरो लोके ? Are not you one in the world ?

अभ्यन्तरोऽहं लोके, न त्वहं लोकः । I am one in the world, but not the whole world.²

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्न, अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्³—

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत् तन्न । किं कारणम् ? अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्—अर्थे शब्दाः
प्रयुज्यन्ते, सन्ति चैषां शब्दानामर्थाः येष्वर्थेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते ॥

“Is but not current” cannot be said, for words are used to express ideas. If it is said, “Is but not current,” it can be denied. How? On account of the use of words to express ideas—words are used to express ideas and there are ideas, to express which the words are used.

1. Note the use of the plural by the pupil. This shows that he has lost his balance.

2. He suggests that he uses such words to denote the *form* of the word, while ordinary people use words only to express *ideas*.

3. The objection raised is successfully met by five reasons :—

(1) *arthē śabdaprayōgāt*, (2) *aprayōgaḥ prayōgānyatvāt*, (3) *aprayuktē dīrghasattravat*, (4) *sarvā dēśāntarē* and (5) *vēdē*.

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात्—

अप्रयोगः खल्वप्येषां शब्दानां न्याय्यः, कुतः? प्रयोगान्यत्वात्, यदेतेषां शब्दानामर्थे अन्याञ्छब्दान् प्रयुज्जते; तद्यथा, ऊषेत्यस्य शब्दस्यार्थे क यूयमुषिताः, तेरेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं तीर्णाः, चक्रेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं कृतवन्तः, पेचेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं पक्ववन्तः इति ।

Non-use on account of the use of other (synonymous) expressions—It is but proper that these words are not in use. Why? On account of other expressions—since other expressions are used to convey the idea of these words, viz. 'Kva yūyam uṣitāḥ' in place of 'ūṣa,' 'kva yūyam tīrṇāḥ' in place of 'tīra,' 'kva yūyam kṛtavantaḥ' in place of 'cakra' and 'kva yūyam pakvavantaḥ' in place of 'pēca.'

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत्—

यद्यप्रयुक्ताः तथापि अवश्यं दीर्घसत्रवल्लक्षणेनानुविधेयाः । तद्यथा दीर्घसत्राणि वार्षशक्तिकानि वार्षसहस्रिकाणि ¹ च, न चाद्यत्वे कश्चिदपि व्यवहरति ² केवलमृषिसम्प्रदायो ³ धर्म इति कृत्वा याज्ञिकाः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते ।

Though not current, to be treated like *dīrghasattra*—Though they are not current, yet they should certainly be treated in grammar like *dīrghasattra*. *Dīrghasattras* are sacrifices performed in one hundred or one thousand days and they are not performed now-a-days. Still yājñikas enjoin them in the chapters dealing with sacrifices in the Vedas, since it is considered that their study is a *nityakarma*.⁴

सर्वे देशान्तरे -

सर्वे खल्वप्येते शब्दा देशान्तरेषु ⁵ प्रयुज्यन्ते

All in other places—All of these words are certainly in use in other places.

1. *Varṣaśabdaḥ divasaparaḥ* (Nāgōjibhaṭṭa).
2. *Āharati* is the reading of Nāgōjibhaṭṭa.
3. *Rṣisampradāyaḥ* = *Vēdādhyayanam* (Kāiṣyaṭa).
4. Cf. धर्मः = निष्कारणो धर्मः, नित्य इति यावत्; वेदाध्ययनं नित्यमिति कृत्वा, याज्ञिकाः आपस्तम्बादयः, सत्रप्रयोगमपि, शास्त्रेण = सूत्रेण अनुविदधते इति योजना. (Uddyōtana).
5. *Dēśāntarē* is another reading.

न चैवोपलभ्यन्ते ¹ But they are not known.

उपलब्धौ यतः क्रियताम् । महान् हि शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः—सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती, त्रयो लोकाः, चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्याः ² बहुधा भिन्नाः, एकशतमध्वर्यु-शाखाः, सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः, एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं, नवधा आथर्वणो वेदः, वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावाञ्छब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः ॥

Let attempt be made to know them. Great is the range for the use of words—earth with its seven island-continent, three worlds, four Vedas with their *āṅgas* and *upaniṣads* with manifold varieties, Yajurveda with 101 recensions, Sāmaveda with 1000 recensions, R̥gvēda with 21 recensions, Atharvaveda with nine recensions, science of discussions, history, purāṇas, and works on medicine.

एतावन्तं शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयमननुनिशम्य सन्त्यप्रयुक्ता इति वचनं केवलं साहसमात्रमेव

Without noting such a range for the use of words, it is simple impudence to say that words exist, but are obsolete.

एतस्मिंश्चातिमहति शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषये ते ते शब्दास्तत्र तत्र नियतविषया दृश्यन्ते—तद्यथा शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति, विकार एनमार्था भाषन्ते शव इति । हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु, गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुज्यते । दातिर्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु ॥

In this vast range of the use of words, particular words in particular meanings are current in different places. *Viz.* The root *śav* is used in the sense of 'to go' in Kambōja; Aryas make use of that root only in the word *śava* (which means a corpse). The root *ham* in Surāṣṭra and *raṁh* in East and Midland countries are used in the sense of 'to go': Aryas use only the root *gam*. The word *dāti* is used in the Eastern countries in the sense of 'cutting' and *dātra* in the Northern countries.

1. *Na cāitē* is another reading.

2. *Rahasyam*=Upaniṣad Manvādismṛtayō vā (Uddyōta.)

ये चाप्येते भवतोऽप्रयुक्ता अभिमताः शब्दाः, एतेषामपि प्रयोगो दृश्यते । कः वेदे—तद्यथा, सप्तस्यै रेवती रेवदूष (R. V. IV. 51, 4.), यद्वो रेवती रेवत्यां तमूष, यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं ब्रह्म चक्र (R. V. I, 165, 11), यत्रा नश्चक्रा जरसं तनूनाम् (R. V. I. 89, 9) इति ॥

Even such words as are in your opinion obsolete are in use. Where? In Vēda—viz. *saptāsyē rēvatī rēvad ūṣa, yadvō rēvatī rēvatyām tam ūṣa, yan mē naraḥ śrutyam brahma cakra, yatrā naścakrā jarasam tanūnām.*

Next arises the doubt whether merit accrues from *śabdajñāna* or *śabda-prayōga*, since it is said in the *vārttika lōkataḥ artha-prayuktē śabda-prayōgē, śāstrēṇa dharmaniyamaḥ*. Kāiṣaṭṭha says that the following topic arises from the śruti

¹ एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः शास्त्रान्वितः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति, where it is doubtful whether the importance is upon *jñāna* or *prayōga*.²

किं पुनः शब्दस्य ज्ञाने धर्मः आहोस्वित् प्रयोगे ?

Does merit accrue from the *knowledge* of correct words or from the *use* of correct words?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the difference here?

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथा अधर्मः

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मोऽपि प्राप्नोति । यो हि शब्दाज्ञानाति अपशब्दान्प्यसौ जानाति । यथैव शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः एवमपशब्दज्ञानेऽप्यधर्मः ॥

If merit accrues from knowledge so also will demerit. If it is considered that merit accrues from knowledge, demerit also will accrue; for he who knows correct words knows their corrupt forms also; as merit accrues from the knowledge of correct words, so also will demerit accrue from that of their corrupt forms.

1. The same is quoted in Mahābhāṣya text under VI, 1, 84.

2. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says that *jñāna* may be considered important and *prayōga* accessory, as *jñāna* is read first in the śruti or *jñāna* may be considered accessory to *prayōga*, since all *jñānas* except *ātma-jñāna* are needed only for application,

अथ वा भूयानधर्मः प्राप्नोति । भूयांसो ह्यपशब्दाः, अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः ।
एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः—तद्यथा गौरित्यस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका
इत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः ॥

Or greater demerit will accrue; for greater in number are the corrupt forms and smaller in number are correct ones. For every correct word there are many corrupt forms. *Viz. Gāvī, gōṇī, gōtā, gōpōtalikā* etc., are the corrupt forms of one single word *gāuḥ*.

आचारे नियमः

आचारे पुनर्ऋषिर्नियमं वेदयते—तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः
परावभूवुः इति

Injunction in use; Veda suggests injunction by the statement *Tēssurāḥ...parābabhūvuh*. Those Asuras met with disaster by pronouncing *Hēslayō hēslayah*.

अस्तु तर्हि प्रयोगे If so, let the merit accrue from *prayōga*.

प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य

यदि प्रयोगे धर्मः सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत

If it is from *prayōga*, it will be of the whole world. If merit accrues from *prayōga*, the whole world will get merit.

कश्चेदानीं भवतो मत्सरो यदि सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत?

Why should you be envious if the whole world gets merit?

न खलु कश्चिन्मत्सरोः । प्रयत्नानर्थक्यं तु भवति । फलवता च नाम प्रयत्नेन
भवितव्यम् । न च प्रयत्नः फलाद्व्यतिरेक्यः ॥

There is no envy. The effort will be fruitless. Every effort should indeed bear fruit. Effort should not be deprived of fruit.

ननु च ये कृतप्रयत्नास्ते साधीयः शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्यन्ते, त एव साधीयोऽभ्युदयेन
योक्ष्यन्ते

Oh! Only those who have worked in grammar make use of words very correctly and hence only they can very well meet with merit.

व्यतिरेकोऽपि वै लक्ष्यते । दृश्यन्ते हि कृतप्रयत्नाश्चाप्रवीणाः, अकृतप्रयत्नाश्च प्रवीणाः ; तत्र फलव्यतिरेकोऽपि स्यात्

Reverse also is seen. It is seen that those who have worked in grammar are not able to use correct words and those who have not worked at it are able to use them. Hence the fruit also will be reversed.

एवं तर्हि नापि ज्ञाने एव धर्मः, नापि प्रयोग एव ।

If so, there is no merit in the knowledge alone nor in the application alone.

किं तर्हि ? Where then ?

शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगेऽभ्युदयस्तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन

शास्त्रपूर्वकं यः शब्दान् प्रयुङ्क्ते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यते ; तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन¹ वेदशब्दा अप्येवमभिवदन्ति 'योऽग्निष्टोमेन यजते य उ चैनमेवं वेद' 'योऽग्नि नाचिकेतं चिनुते य उ चैनमेवं वेद' ॥

Merit only from the *prayōga* after the study of grammar and it is similar to the sacrifices signified by the Vēdic expressions. He who makes use words after the study of grammar meets with merit. It is similar to those which are signified by Vēdic expressions. They say thus:—He who performs *Agniṣṭōma* and knows how it should be done ; he who performs *Nācīkēta-cayana* and knows how it should be done.

अपर आह तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देनेति—यथा वेदशब्दा नियमपूर्वमधीताः फलवन्तो भवन्त्येवं यः शास्त्रपूर्वकं शब्दान् प्रयुङ्क्ते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यत इति

Another interprets the expression *tat tulyam vēda-śabdēna* thus:—As the Vēdic texts studied according to the enjoined rules are fruitful, so also he who makes use of words after studying grammar meets with merit.

From the above it is clear that, according to the *Vārttikakāra*, merit accrues only from *prayōga* preceded by *vyākaraṇādhyayana*. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* seems to differ from him and hence opens the same topic again.

1. *Vēdaśabdaḥ* is split in two ways: (1) *Vēdaḥ śabdaḥ (bōdhakāḥ, pramāṇam vā) yasya saḥ* and (2) *Vēdaś cāsāu śabdaś ca*.

अथ वा पुनरस्तु ज्ञान एव धर्म इति

Or let the merit accrue only from knowledge.

ननु चोक्तं ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्म इति

Was it not said that, if *dharma* is from *jñāna*, *adharma* will similarly accrue ?

नैष दोषः, शब्दप्रमाणका वयम्, यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम् । शब्दश्च शब्दज्ञाने धर्ममाह, नापशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मम् । यच्च पुनरशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं नैव तद् दोषाय भवति नाभ्युदयाय । तद्यथा हिंक्रितहसितकण्डूयितानि नैव दोषाय भवन्ति नाभ्युदयाय ॥

No, this harm will never be. We have *śabda* to our authority; whatever *śabda* says is authority to us. *Śabda* says that merit accrues from the knowledge of words and it does not say that demerit accrues from the knowledge of corrupt words. That which is neither enjoined nor forbidden produces neither merit nor demerit. *Viz.* Hiccough, laugh, and scratching produce neither demerit nor merit.

अथ वा अभ्युपाय एवापशब्दज्ञानं शब्दज्ञाने । यो ह्यपशब्दाज्ज्ञानाति शब्दानप्यसौ जानाति । तदेवं ज्ञाने धर्म इति ब्रुवतोऽर्थादापन्नं भवति -- 'अपशब्दज्ञानपूर्वके शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः' इति

Or the knowledge of corrupt forms of words leads to that of correct ones; he who knows the corrupt forms knows the correct ones also. Hence the statement of him who says that knowledge gives merit leads of its own accord to the inference that knowledge of correct words preceded by that of corrupt forms gives merit.

¹ अथ वा, कूपखानकवदेतद्भविष्यति — तद्यथा, कूपखानकः कूपं खनन् यद्यपि मृदा पांशुभिश्चावकीर्णो भवति, सोऽप्सु संजातासु तत एव तं गुणमासादयति, येन च स दोषो निर्हण्यते, भूयसा चाभ्युदयेन योगो भवति । एवमिहापि यद्यप्यपशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मस्तथापि यस्त्वसौ शब्दज्ञाने धर्मस्तेन च स दोषो निर्घातिष्यते, भूयसा चाभ्युदयेन योगो भविष्यति ॥

Or this may be like a well-sinker. A well-sinker, though he is stuck in the mud and is covered with dust in the process

1. This line of argument is taken on the maxim *tuṣyatu durjanah*.

of sinking the well, gets himself rid of the mud and dust with the water as soon as he reaches it, and gets plenty of good from it. So also here even though demerit accrues from the knowledge of corrupt words, yet merit accrues from that of correct ones, which destroys the effect of the former and leads to much good.

यदप्युच्यते आचारे नियमः इति याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमोऽन्यत्रानियमः । एवं हि श्रूयते—यर्वाणस्तर्वाणो नाम ऋषयो बभूवुः प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः परापरज्ञाः विदित-वेदितव्या अधिगतयाथातथ्याः—ते तत्रभवन्तो यद्वानस्तद्वान इति प्रयोक्तव्ये यर्वाणस्तर्वाण इति प्रयुञ्जते, याज्ञे पुनः कर्मणि नापभाषन्ते । तैः पुनरसुरैर्याज्ञे कर्मण्यपभाषितम्, ततस्ते पराभूताः ।

As regards the statement *ācārē niyamah*, it should be taken that the *niyama* holds only to sacrifice so that there may be *anīyama* elsewhere. For it is mentioned in the Vedas that the revered sages named *Yarvāṇa* and *Tarvāṇa* who could see everything with their mind's eye, who could distinguish the infinite and finite, who had *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* of *ātman* and who had become one with *paramātmān* used the words *yarvāṇah* and *tarvāṇah* instead of *yadvāṇah* and *tadvāṇah* (in ordinary conversation) and pronounced the correct words in sacrifices. Those *asuras*, on the other hand, pronounced corrupt words in sacrifices and hence met with disaster.

Here it should be noted that the *Vārttikakāra* and the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* differ in their views on this topic. The former decides that one gets merit only when he uses correct words (in sacrifices and elsewhere) knowing them as such through his study of grammar. Hence the mere study of grammar does not bear any fruit. But, on the other hand, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* decides that the study of grammar brings merit (*jñānē dharmah*) and that every one should use only correct words in sacrifices whether he has studied grammar or not (*yājñē karmaṇi niyamah*).

VIII

In the first *vārttika*, the statement *śāstrēṇa dharmaniyamaḥ* is found. There the word *śāstra* denotes *vyākaraṇa*. This is evident from the following statements of Mahābhāṣyakāra
रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम्, तस्मादध्येयं व्याकरणम्, न चान्तरेण
व्याकरणम्, किं पुनरिदं व्याकरणमेवाधिजिगांसमानेभ्यः, व्याकरणं स्माधीयते,
अनर्थकं व्याकरणम् etc.

Now begins the discussion on the meaning of the word *vyākaraṇa*.

अथ व्याकरणमित्यस्य शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः ?

Now what is the meaning of the word *vyākaraṇa* ?

सूत्रम् Sūtra.

सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्नः

सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थो नोपपद्यते—व्याकरणस्य सूत्रम् इति । किं तर्हि
तदन्यत्सूत्राद् व्याकरणम्, यस्यादः सूत्रं स्यात् ?

Vyākaraṇa being *sūtra*, unsuitability of the sixth case meaning. If *Vyākaraṇa* means *sūtra*, sixth case meaning in the expression “*Vyākaraṇasya sūtram*” won't suit. Is it then that *vyākaraṇa* is different from *sūtra*, so that it may be said that this *sūtra* is of that ?

शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः

शब्दानां चाप्रतिपत्तिः प्राप्नोति, व्याकरणात् शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यामहे इति ।
न हि सूत्रत एव शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते ।

Non-knowledge of *śabdās*. Knowledge of words cannot be had in the manner in which it is generally known that we get the knowledge of words from *Vyākaraṇa*; for words are not understood only from *sūtras*.

किं तर्हि ? Whence then ?

व्याख्यानतश्च From the commentary also.

ननु च तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवति ?

Does not the same *sūtra* split into words form the commentary ?

न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानम् वृद्धिः आत् ऐच् इति

The mere repetition of words composing a sūtra like *vrddhiḥ*, *āt*, *ai* does not serve as commentary.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति
Example, counter-example, filling-up the ellipsis in the sentence—all these put together form the commentary.

एवं तर्हि शब्दः If so, *śabda* is *vyākaraṇa*.

शब्दे ल्युडर्थः

यदि शब्दो व्याकरणं ल्युडर्थो नोपपद्यते, व्याक्रियन्ते शब्दा अनेनेति व्याकरणम् । न हि शब्देन किञ्चिद् व्याक्रियते ।

Śabda being *Vyākaraṇa*, the (unsuitability of the) meaning of the suffix *ana*. If *śabda* is taken to be *vyākaraṇa*, the meaning of the suffix *ana* in the word *vyākaraṇa* does not suit, since it is derived as *vyākriyante śabdā anēna*; for nothing is analysed into *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* on the authority of *śabda*.

केन तर्हि ? If so, by what ?

सूत्रेण । By sūtra.

भवे च तद्धितः

भवे च तद्धितो नोपपद्यते, व्याकरणे भवो योगो वैयाकरण इति । न हि शब्दे भवो योगः

The unsuitability of the secondary suffix in the sense of *bhava*. The secondary suffix which has the sense of *existing* in the word *vāiyākaraṇa*, which means the sūtra in *vyākaraṇa*, does not suit; for sūtra does not exist in *śabda*.

क तर्हि ? Where then ?

सूत्रे In the sūtra.

प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः

प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता नोपपद्यन्ते, पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम्, आपिशलं काशकृत्स्नम् इति । न हि पाणिनिना शब्दाः प्रोक्ताः ।

Besides, the unsuitability of the secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc. The secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc. in the words *Pāṇinīyam*—that which is said by *Pāṇini*—*Āpiśalam* and *Kāśakṛtsnam* do not fit in; for *śabdas* are not read by *Pāṇini*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

सूत्रम् Sūtra.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता इति, न प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इत्येव, भवेऽपि तद्धितश्चोदितः स्यात् ?

Why are *bhavē* and *prōktādayaś ca taddhitāḥ* read here instead of the latter alone, since it can embrace the former also ?

पुरस्तादिदमाचार्येण दृष्टम् भवे च तद्धितः इति, तत् पठितम् ; तत् उत्तरकालमिदं दृष्टं प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इति, तदपि पठितम् ; न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति ।

First this struck Ācārya '*bhavē ca taddhitāḥ*' and it was read; then was he struck with '*prōktādayaś ca taddhitāḥ*' and it was read. Ācāryas do not stop after writing the sūtras without revising them.

अयं तावददोषः यदुच्यते शब्दे ल्युङर्थः इति । नावश्यं करणाधिकरणयोरेव ल्युङ् विधीयते ।

The objection *śabdē lyuṅdarthaḥ* does not stand. *Ana* is not invariably used to denote instrument or place of action.

किं तर्हि ? Where then ?

अन्येष्वपि कारकेषु—कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् इति, तद्यथा प्रस्कन्दनं प्रपतनम् इति । In the meanings of other cases also ; it is used to denote *apādāna* as in the words *praskandana* and *prapatana*.¹

अथ वा शब्दैरपि शब्दा व्याक्रियन्ते²—तद्यथा गौरित्युक्ते सर्वे सन्देहा निवर्तन्ते, नास्वो न गर्दभ इति

1. *Praskandana*=the place from which one has slipped ; *prapatana*=the place from which one has fallen.

2. Here *vyākṛti* does not mean the determination of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*, but *viparītavāvyṛtti* and *sadyśasaṅgraha*.

Or words are explained by words—viz. on saying the word *gāuḥ*, all doubts whether the object denoted is horse or ass are removed.

अयं तर्हि दोषः—भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इति

Then this defect ' *Bhavē prōktādayaś ca taddhitāḥ* ' stands.

एवं तर्हि

लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम्

लक्ष्यं च लक्षणं चैतत्समुदितं व्याकरणं भवति

If so, *Vyākaraṇa* consists of *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Both *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* form *Vyākaraṇa*.

किं पुनर्लक्ष्यं लक्षणं च? What is *lakṣya* and what is *lakṣaṇa*?

शब्दो लक्ष्यः, सूत्रं लक्षणम् Word is *lakṣya* and *sūtra* is *lakṣaṇa*.

एवमप्ययं दोषः, समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽवयवे नोपपद्यते, सूत्राणि

चाप्यधीयान इष्यते वैयाकरण इति

Even then there is this defect that the word *vyākaraṇa* which denotes a whole cannot denote its part. But one who studies *sūtras* alone is taken to be a *vāiyākaraṇa*.

नैष दोषः, समुदायेषु हि शब्दाः प्रवृत्ताः अवयवेष्वपि वर्तन्ते, तद्यथा—¹ पूर्वे पञ्चालाः, उत्तरे पञ्चालाः, तैलं भुक्तं, घृतं भुक्तं, शुक्लो नीलः कपिलः कृष्ण इति । एवमयं समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽवयवेष्वपि वर्तते ।

It is no defect, for words denoting wholes are used to denote parts also. Viz. ² East Pañcāla, North Pañcāla; *tāila* is taken in, *ghṛta* is taken in; white, blue, brown, and black, objects. So also the word *vyākaraṇa* used here to denote the whole may denote a part also.

Vārttikakāra closed the topic with the conclusion that *Vyākaraṇa* includes *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Mahābhāṣyakāra, not being satisfied with it, reopens it, and decides that *lakṣaṇa* (*sūtra*) alone is denoted by the word *vyākaraṇa*.

1. Cf. Bhāṣya under 4, 3, 155 : 5, 1, 115.

2. The word Pañcāla denotes the whole; but in the expressions *Pūrvē Pañcālāḥ* etc. it denotes a part. *Tāila* and *ghṛta* denote medicated oil and ghee, so that they refer to the ingredients also which form a part of them. Though the word *śukla* denotes only white object, yet it includes also the black border in a white cloth,

अथ वा पुनरस्तु सूत्रम् Or let it denote only sūtra.

ननु चोक्तं सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्न इति ?

Has it not been said that, if *vyākaraṇa* denotes sūtra, the meaning of the sixth case does not suit ?

नैष दोषः ; व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन भविष्यति

It is no defect. It can be removed by adopting the principle of *vyadēśivadbhāva* ¹.

यदप्युच्यते शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः इति, न हि सूत्रत एव शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । किं तर्हि ? व्याख्यानतश्चेति ; परिहृतमेतत्, तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवतीति ।

The objection 'śabdāpratipattiḥ...vyākhyānataś ca' was met by the statement 'tad ēva sūtram vigrhītam vyākhyānam bhavati.'

ननु चोक्तं न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं वृद्धिः आत् ऐज् इति । किं तर्हि, उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवतीति ?

Has it not been said 'na kēvalāni...bhavati' ?

अविजानत एतदेवं भवति । सूत्रत एव हि शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । आतश्च सूत्रत एव । यो ह्यसूत्रं कथयेन्नादो ² गृह्येत ।

This is with the dullard ; for words are learnt only from sūtras. If, on the other hand, one deviates from sūtra, the sound alone and not the substance will be taken to account.

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word *Vyākaraṇa*, and before handling the first sūtra of Ācārya Pāṇini, Mahābhāṣyakāra has to deal with the Māhēśvarasūtras made use of by Pāṇini and discussed by Vārttikakāra. He does this in the next *āhnika* in detail. To lead to it, he closes this *āhnika* with the next topic which deals with Māhēśvarasūtras as a whole, and which was handled by Vārttikakāra.

1. Cf. Nimittasadbhāvād mukhyaavyapadēśō yasyā asti, sa vyapa-
dēśī, yas tu vyapadēśahētvabhāvāt avidyamānavyapadēśaḥ sa tēna tulyam
vartatē kāryam prati iti vyapadēśivad bhavati iti ucyatē (Kāiṣa 1-1-5
sūtra 21). Though *rāhu* and *śiras* are identical, yet there is the usage
rāhuśiraḥ (Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara. 7, 43) where mind takes *rāhu* to be the
whole and *śiras* a part. So also tho' *vyākaraṇa* and *sūtra* are identical, yet
in the usage 'vyākaraṇasya sūtram' the former is taken to be the whole
and the latter a part. Vol. II p. 60 etc., Vol. III p. 63 etc., Vol. IV p. 106.

2. *Nādaḥ* may mean sound or not this,

IX

When sounds are known from *māṭṛkāḥṣara*, why should Pāṇini have made use of the *Māhēśvarasūtras* ?

अथ किमर्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः ?

Now what for are the *Māhēśvarasūtras* ?¹

वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेशः *Upadēśa* is for *vr̥tti-samavāya*.

वृत्तिसमवायार्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः

Māhēśvarasūtras are intended to supply different groups of letters suited to Pāṇini's method of composing *sūtras*.

किमिदं वृत्तिसमवायार्थ इति ? Here what is *vr̥ttisamavāyārtha* ?

वृत्तये समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः ।

Samavāya for *vr̥tti*, *samavāya* for the sake of *vr̥tti* and *samavāya* having for its fruit *vr̥tti*.²

का पुनर्वृत्तिः ? What then is *vr̥tṭiḥ* ?

शास्त्रप्रवृत्तिः Method of composing *sūtra* (Pāṇini's grammar).

अथ कः समवायः ? What then is *samavāya* ?

वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण सन्निवेशः

The grouping of letters in particular settings.

अथ क उपदेशः ? What then is *upadēśa* ?

उच्चारणम् Manifestation (when *dhakkā* was beaten).

कुत एतत् ? How is this ?

दिशिरुच्चारणक्रियः, उच्चार्य हि वर्णानाह, उपदिष्टा इमे वर्णा इति

The root *diś* means to pronounce ; only by pronouncing the letters it is said that these letters are pronounced.

1. The literal meaning being this, it should be taken to mean why Pāṇini should make use of *Māhēśvarasūtras* when there is *māṭṛkāḥṣara*.

2. *Vr̥ttisamavāyaḥ* has for its *viśraha*, *vr̥ttēḥ samavāyaḥ*. It is clear from this statement that the 14 *sūtras* are not the work of Pāṇini.

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च For the sake of *anubandhakaraṇa*.

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः, अनुबन्धानासङ्क्षयामि इति, न ह्यनुपदिश्य वर्णाननुबन्धाः शक्या आसङ्क्षुम् ।

Māhēśvarasūtras are intended for *anubandha* or indicatory letter, so that I may associate them (with other letters). Without the sūtras, the letter cannot be associated with indicatory letters called *it* by Pāṇini.)

स एष वर्णानामुपदेशो वृत्तिसमवायार्थश्च अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च ; वृत्तिसमवायश्चानुबन्धकरणं च प्रत्याहारार्थम्, प्रत्याहारो वृत्त्यर्थः ।

This list of Māhēśvarasūtras is for *vṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakaraṇa*. *Vṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakaraṇa* are for *pratyāhāra* and *pratyāhāra* is for *śāstra-pravṛtti*.

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्च For the sake of enumerating the needed ones.

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः, इष्टान् वर्णान् भोत्स्यामहे इति । न ह्यनुपदिश्य वर्णानिष्टा वर्णाः शक्या विज्ञातुम् ¹

Māhēśvarasūtras are needed to give expression to the needed letters so that we may enumerate the needed letters. Without the sūtras it is not possible to express the needed letters alone.

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः

If it is said *iṣṭabuddhyarthaś ca*, *upadēśa* of letters with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, accent and the nasalised, long, and *pluta*, letters (is needed).

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः, एवंगुणा अपि हि वर्णा इष्यन्ते

If it is said *iṣṭabuddhyarthaś ca*, letters with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* accents and the nasalised, long, and *pluta*, letters should be read in the 14 sūtras, since we need letters having these qualities also.

आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धम्

It is accomplished by taking that the genus of the letters is referred to.

1. Here *bhōtsyāmahē* and *viññātum* are causal.

अवर्णाकृतिरुपदिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति, तथेवर्णाकृतिस्तथोवर्णाकृतिः

The genus 'a', when pronounced, includes the whole 'a-family'; so is the genus 'i' and the genus 'u'.¹

आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धम् इति चेत् संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः

If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, prohibition of *saṁvṛta* and others.

आकृत्युपदेशात् सिद्धमिति चेत् संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, the letters with the defect of *saṁvṛta* etc. should be prohibited.

के पुनः संवृतादयः ? What, then, are *saṁvṛtādis* ?

संवृतः, कलः, ध्मातः, एणीकृतः, अम्बूकृतः, अर्धकः, ग्रस्तः, निरस्तः, प्रगीतः, उपगीतः, क्षिण्णः, रोमशः, इति । अपर आह

ग्रस्तं निरस्तमवलम्बितं² हतमम्बूकृतं ध्मातमथो विकम्पितम् ।

सन्दष्टमेणीकृतमर्धकं द्रुतं विकीर्णमेताः स्वरदोषभावनाः ॥ इति

अतोऽन्ये व्यञ्जनदोषाः

They are sounds which are closed, pronounced in wrong place, lengthened, ambiguous, not clear, shortened, inaudible, harsh, sung, attached to the syllable that is sung, shaking, and superloud. Another says that the defective vocalic sounds are those which are inaudible, harsh, mixed with another sound, unpleasant to the ear, not clear, lengthened, shaking, prolonged, ambiguous, shortened, quick and going into another sound. Distinct from these are the defective ways of pronouncing consonants.

नैष दोषः This defect cannot stand.

गर्गादिबिदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिः

The defects—*saṁvṛta* and others are avoided by *gargādi-pāṭha* and *bidādipāṭha*.

गर्गादिबिदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति

1. It must be noted that, though the genus cannot be pronounced without individuality, prominence is given to the genus part of it.

2. *Avilambitam nirhatam* is another reading.

The defects—*saṁvṛta* and others are avoided by Pāṇini's reading the collections of words headed by *Garga* and *Bida*.

¹ अस्त्यन्यद् गर्गादिबिदादिपाठे प्रयोजनम्

There is another purpose served by *gargādi-bidādi-pāṭha*.

किं? What?

समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्याद् इति

So that the whole words like *Garga* may be taken to be correct (and not their parts).

एवं तर्हि अष्टादशधा भिन्नां निवृत्तकलादिकाम् अवर्णस्य प्रत्यापत्तिं वक्ष्यामि ²

If so, *sūtras* इ इ, उ उ etc., like अ अ will be read, so that each letter may denote only one of the correct eighteen and not the defective ones.

सा तर्हि वक्तव्या Then should it be read.

लिङ्गार्था तु प्रत्यापत्तिः The repetition will signify something.

लिङ्गार्था सा तर्हि भवति

It (repetition like इ इ, उ उ) will, then, have the significance (that whatever defects each letter may have had in *prakriyā-daśā*, it is free from them in *prayōgadaśā*).

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् Then should it be read.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथैतर्हि अनेकमनुबन्धशतं नोच्चार्यम्, इत्संज्ञा च न वक्तव्या, लोपश्च न वक्तव्यः । यदनुबन्धैः क्रियते तत्कलादिभिः करिष्यते

If it is said so, then thousands of *anubandhas* (like क् and द् in अक्, अद्) need not be read, they need not be named इत् and the *sūtra* हलन्त्यम् which enjoins their *lōpa* need not be read. What is done by *anubandhas* will be done by *kalādis*.

सिध्यत्येवम् । अपाणिनीयं तु भवति । यथान्यासमेवास्तु ।

The object is then accomplished; but it goes against Pāṇini's *sūtras*. Hence let the *sūtras* be as they are.

1. In the Benares edition it is conjectured that there should be a *vārttika* *Samudāyasādhutvārtham tu Gargādibidādi-pāṭhaḥ*.

2. Cf. अवर्णस्य अअ इति कृतैव, तद्वत् तदनन्तरमन्येषामपि करिष्यामि इति भावः (Uddyōta).

ननु चोक्तम् 'आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धमिति चेत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः' इति ?
Has it not been pointed out that, if everything is accomplished by *ākṛtyupadēśa*, prohibition of *saṁvṛta* and others is to be made ?

परिहृतमेतत् — गर्गादिबिदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति इति
This has been met by the statement that the defects—*saṁvṛta* and others are avoided by *gargādibidādipāṭha*.

ननु चान्यद् गर्गादिबिदादिपाठे प्रयोजनमुक्तम् !
Oh! another was said to be the benefit of *gargādibidādipāṭha*.
किम् ? What ?

समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्यादिति
So that the whole words may be taken to be correct.

एवं तर्हि उभयमनेन क्रियते, पाठश्चैव विशेष्यते, कलादयश्च निवर्त्यन्ते
If so, both are accomplished by it—the correct reading is understood and the defects are removed.

कथं पुनरेकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम् ?
How can both be accomplished through one effort ?

लभ्यमित्याह Can be accomplished, says he.

कथम् ? How ?

द्विगता अपि हेतवो भवन्ति । तद्यथा — आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिता इति । तथा वाक्यानि द्विष्टानि भवन्ति — श्वेतो धावति, अलम्बुसानां ¹ याता इति ।
There are causes which have two effects :—*viz.*, Mango trees are watered and manes are satisfied. So also are sentences having two meanings — *viz.*, *śvētō dhāvati* (white man cleans ; dog runs from here); *alambusānām yātā*. (He who goes to *Alambusā* ; one that can get the colour of straw).

अथवा इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः — केमे संवृतादयः श्रूयेरन्निति ।
Or he is to be put this question :—"Where can be heard the defective sounds like *saṁvṛta* ?"

आगमेषु In augments.

आगमाः शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Augments are correctly read.

विकारेषु तर्हि If so, in *ādēśas*.

1. *Busānām* = *palālacūrṇānām* ; (Annambhaṭṭa) *palālavarnānām* (Nāgōjibhaṭṭa).

विकारा अपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते *Ādēśas* also are correctly read.

प्रत्ययेषु तर्हि If so, in *pratyayas*.

प्रत्यया अपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Even *pratyayas* are correctly read.

धातुषु तर्हि In roots then.

धातवोऽपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Even roots are correctly read.

प्रातिपदिकेषु तर्हि In stems then.

प्रातिपदिकान्यपि शुद्धानि पठ्यन्ते Even stems are correctly read.

यानि तर्ह्यग्रहणानि प्रातिपदिकानि ?

(What about), then, those stems which are not derivable from roots ?

एतेषामपि स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीज्ञानार्थ उपदेशः ¹ कर्तव्यः, शशः ष इति मा भूत्, पलाशः पलाष इति मा भूत्, मञ्चको मञ्जक इति मा भूत्

Enumeration of such stems also need be made, to determine the nature and order of sounds in them and शश, पलाश and मञ्चक may not be misread as षष, पलाषक and मञ्ज.

आगमाश्च विकाराश्च प्रत्ययाः सह धातुभिः ।

उच्चार्यन्ते ततस्तेषु नेमे प्राप्ताः कलादयः ॥

Augments, substitutes and suffixes are correctly read with roots. Hence the defects like *kala* cannot appear there.

From the above it is clear that the objection “इष्टबुद्धर्थ-श्चेति...उपदेशः” does not stand. Hence इष्टबुद्धर्थश्च need not be read as a *prayōjana*.²

इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिविरचिते महाभाष्ये प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे प्रथममाहिकम् ॥

*Paspaśāhnika*³ ends.

1. उपदेशः = व्युत्पादनम् (उद्योत under 4, 1, 3)

2. Cf. वर्णोपदेशस्य मुख्यं फलं तु प्रत्याहारनिष्पत्तिः (Śabdakāustubha).

3. Annambhaṭṭa in his *Uddyōtana* has quoted a verse which says that the word *paspaśa* means *upōdghāta* or introduction.

शास्त्रस्यारम्भको ग्रन्थ उपोद्धात इतीरितः ।

स एव ग्रन्थसन्दर्भः पस्पशः कथितो बुधैः ॥

He has read the word *paspaśaḥ* in the masculine gender. He reads पस्पशायाम्, पस्पशाभाष्यविरोधः too under वृद्धिरादैच्. But Kāiyaṭa has read *paspaśā* in the feminine gender under 1, 2, 32 and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa under 1, 2, 1 Cf. अत एव पस्पशायाम् भाष्ये (Laghumañjūṣā) under the topic बुद्धवाक्यं न प्रमाणम् in तिङर्थनिरूपण.

2. प्रत्याहाराहिकम्

Having dealt with the use of the fourteen Māhēśvarasūtras *in toto* at the end of the previous *āhnika*, Mahābhāṣyakāra deals with the following eight sūtras in detail in this *āhnika*:—
अइउण्, ऋलृक्, एओङ्, ऐऔच्, हयवरट्, लण्, जमडणनम् and झभञ्.
Hence this *āhnika* is called प्रत्याहाराहिकम्.

अ इ उ ण्

There are *three* topics in this sūtra. There should be *vivṛtōpadēśa* (1) in अ of अइउण्, (2) in अ of roots, stems etc. and (3) in अ of the sūtras like अस्य च्चौ, यस्येति च.

I

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेश आकारग्रहणार्थः

The *vivṛtōpadēśa* of *akāra* is to comprehend *ākāra* also.

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः¹ । किं प्रयोजनम्? आकारग्रहणार्थः —

अकारः सवर्णग्रहेण आकारमपि यथा गृहीयात्

The *vivṛtōpadēśa* of *akāra* is necessary. Why? For the sake of comprehending *ākāra*—so that *akāra* may comprehend *ākāra*—by the sūtra *Aṇ udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* which enables *aṇ* and *udit* to comprehend *savarṇas*.

किं च कारणं न गृहीयात्? Why will it not comprehend?

विवारभेदात् By the difference in their *ābhyantara-prayatna*.

किमुच्यते विवारभेदादिति न पुनः कालभेदादपि, यथैव ह्ययं विवारभिन्नः एवं कालभिन्नोऽपि?

How is it that mention is made of the difference in *ābhyantaraprayatna* alone and not of the difference in *mātrā* also, since it (*ākāra*) differs from *akāra* in *mātrā* in the same way as it differs from it in *ābhyantaraprayatna*?

1 This sentence may be interpreted in two ways:—(1) The *vivṛtōpadēśa* suggested by the sūtra 'A a' is necessary. (2) *Vivṛtōpadēśa* must be enjoined to *a*. In the latter case both *vivṛtōpadēśa* and its reason are enjoined and in the former case the reason alone.

सत्यमेवमेतत्; वक्ष्यति 'तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सर्वर्णम्' इत्यत्र आस्यग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् 'आस्ये येषां तुल्यो देशः प्रयत्नश्च ते सर्वर्णसंज्ञा भवन्ति' इति; बाह्यश्च पुनरास्यात्कालः¹; तेन स्यादेव कालभिन्नस्य ग्रहणं न पुनर्विवारभिन्नस्य ।

True, so is it; Mahābhāṣyakāra is going to say in the *bhāṣya* under the sūtra *Tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam* that the need for the word *āsyam* in the sūtra is to suggest that only such sounds as have the same place of articulation and the same manner of articulation within the *mouth* become *savarṇas*. Quantity of a sound is determined outside the mouth. Hence one sound can comprehend another having different quantity but not having different *ābhyantaraprayatna*.

किं पुनरिदं² विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते, आहोस्वित् संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य विवृतोपदेशश्चोचते ?

Is it here that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtōpadēśa* ?

विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते

The purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

कथं ज्ञायते? How is it so interpreted ?

यदयम् अ अ इत्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृताप्रत्यापत्तिं शास्ति

Since the *Sūtrakāra* enjoins in the sūtra अ अ that the *vivṛta-akāra* becomes *saṁvṛta* by the *pratyāpatti*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This does not suggest it; for another purpose is served by it.

किम्? What is it ?

अतिखट्टः अतिमालः इत्यत्र आन्तर्यतो विवृतस्य विवृतः प्राप्नोति, संवृतः स्यादित्येवमर्था प्रत्यापत्तिः

Vivṛta-akāra will replace *vivṛta-ākāra* in the words अतिखट्टः and अतिमालः on account of similarity; the *pratyāpatti* is for the sake of *saṁvṛta-akāra* replacing *vivṛta-ākāra* in them.

1. नाभिप्रदेश एव विशिष्टप्रयत्नारम्भात् दीर्घादिनिष्पत्त्या नाभेश्च आस्यात् बाह्यत्वात् कालस्य बाह्यत्वम् (Kāiṣya). नाभिप्रदेश एव वायोः प्रकारप्रयत्नमारभ्यते इति कालस्य बाह्यत्वम् अस्त्येव (Pradīpikā).

2. इदम् = अत्र Cf. इदमहममुमववाध (शतपथब्राह्मणम् 1, 3, 5, 7.)

नैतदस्ति ; नैव लोके न च वेदे अकारो विवृतोऽस्ति ¹

No, that cannot be ; there is no *vivṛta-akāra* either in ordinary usage or in Veda.

कस्तर्हि ? If so, which is it (that is found in *lōka* or Veda) ?

संवृतः । योऽस्ति स भविष्यति । तदेतत्प्रत्यापत्तिवचनं ² ज्ञापकमेव भविष्यति
विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायत इति

Samvṛta-akāra. That which is, appears there. Hence the reading of *pratyāpatti* suggests that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

कः पुनरत्र विशेषः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायेत संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य वा विवृतोपदेशः चोद्येत इति ?

What is the speciality here whether it is taken that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *samvṛtōpadēśa* ?

न खलु कश्चिद्विशेषः ; आहोपुरुषिकामात्रं तु ; भवानाह संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य विवृतोपदेशश्चोद्यते इति, वयं तु ब्रूमः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायत इति
No speciality whatsoever ; it is only conceit ; you say that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *samvṛtōpadēśa* and we say that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

II

तस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः सवर्णग्रहणार्थः

On account of its *vivṛtōpadēśa*, there is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa* elsewhere to comprehend like sounds.

तस्यैतस्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Since there has been *vivṛtōpadēśa* in the *akāra* of अइउण् of the *Māhēśvarasūtras*, there is need to declare *vivṛtōpadēśa* elsewhere also.

1. It may be interesting to note that *a* is now pronounced in Southern India only as an open sound and it may be due to the influence of the pronunciation of *a* in Tamil language.

2. *Pratyāpattiḥ* = Reversion to original state. Cf. स्वरूपाद्धि प्रच्युतस्य पुनः स्वरूपे अवस्थानं प्रत्यापत्तिः (*Uddyōtana*)

कान्यत्र ? Which does elsewhere refer to ?

धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातस्थस्य

The *akāra* in *dhātu*, *prātipadika*, *pratyaya* and *nipāta*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

सवर्णग्रहणार्थः, आक्षरसमाम्नायिकेनास्य ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

So that it may comprehend like sounds. So that this may be comprehended by the *akāra* of Māhēśvarasūtras.

किं च कारणं न स्यात् ? Why will it not be comprehended ?

विवारभेदादेव

Evidently by the difference in *ābhyantaraprayatna*.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकेन धात्वादिस्थस्य ग्रहणमिति, यदयम्

अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः इति प्रत्याहारे अको ग्रहणं करोति

Ācārya's usage suggests that the *akāra* of *dhātu*, etc., is comprehended by that in Māhēśvarasūtras, since he uses the word *akāḥ* in the sūtra *Akaḥ savarnē dīrghaḥ*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be interpreted to enable it become a *jñāpaka* ?

न हि द्वयोराक्षरसमाम्नायिकयोर्युगपत्समवस्थानमस्ति

For two *akāras* do not exist simultaneously in Māhēśvarasūtras.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This is not a *jñāpaka*, for another purpose is served by reading this *akāḥ*.

किम् ? What is it ?

यस्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकेन ग्रहणमस्ति तदर्थमेतत् स्यात् खट्वाढकं, मालाढकम् इति

It is used where it can be applied to the *ākāras* comprehended by *a* in the Māhēśvarasūtras—viz., खट्वाढकम्, मालाढकम्.¹

सति प्रयोजने न ज्ञापकं भवति, तस्माद् विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

If it has a purpose to serve, it does not become a *jñāpaka* and hence there is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa*.

1. It may be applied where *ā* and *a* coalesce, since *ā* is comprehended by the *a* of अइउण् on the strength of the sūtra अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः

¹ क एष यत्नश्चोद्यते विवृतोपदेशो नाम? विवृतो वा उपदिश्येत संवृतो वा ।
को न्वत्र विशेषः?

What for is this attempt about *vivṛtōpadēśa*? Let *vivṛtōpadēśa* be made or *saṁvṛtōpadēśa*. What is the difference?

स एष सर्व एवमर्थो यत्नः क्रियते, यान्येतानि प्रातिपदिकान्यग्रहणानि तेषामेते-
नाभ्युपायेन उपदेशश्चोद्यते, तद् गुरु भवति । तस्माद्वक्तव्यं धात्वादिस्यश्च विवृत इति
All this attempt is made for the sake of non-derivable stems.
If this *vivṛtōpadēśa* is not made, all such stems will have to be
read and it will be a stupendous task. Hence the *akāra* of
dhātu etc., should have *vivṛtōpadēśa*.

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थः

To ward off *saṁvṛtatva* in the long and pluta sounds.

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थो विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः, दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ मा
भूताम् इति वृक्षाभ्यां देवदत्ता ३ इति

There is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa* to ward off *saṁvṛtatva* in long and
pluta sounds (i.e.) that long and pluta sounds in words like
vṛkṣābhyām, *Dēvadattā* ३ may not become *saṁvṛta*.

नैव लोके न च वेदे दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ स्तः

Neither in usage nor in Vēda are long and pluta sounds found
as closed ones.

कौ तर्हि? What then?

विवृतौ । यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः

Open ones. Those that are will certainly appear.

स्थानी प्रकल्पयेदेतावनुस्वारो यथा यणम्

Sthānin will bring in these two as *anusvāra* brings in nasalised
semivowels.

संवृतः स्थानी संवृतौ दीर्घप्लुतौ प्रकल्पयेत्, अनुस्वारः यथा यणम्, तद्यथा
संयन्ता संवत्सरः, यल्लोकं, तल्लोकम् इति; अनुस्वारः स्थानी यणमनुनासिकं
प्रकल्पयति ।

1. This question is based upon the assumption that the *akāra* in *dhātu* etc., is read with *vivṛtaprayatna*.

The closed *sthānin* will bring in closed long and pluta sounds as anusvāra brings in nasalised semivowels. *viz.*, सय्यन्ता, सव्वत्सरः, यल्लोकम्, तल्लोकम्. The *sthānin* which is anusvāra brings in nasalised semivowels.

विषम उपन्यासः, युक्तं यत्सतस्तत्र प्रकल्पतिर्भवति ; सन्ति हि यणः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च ; दीर्घप्लुतौ पुनर्नैव लोके न च वेदे संवृतौ स्तः

The reasoning is not sound. It is but just to bring in what exists ; there are semivowels both nasalised and non-nasalised ; but the long and pluta sounds are not closed ones either in usage or in Veda.

कौ तर्हि ? What then ?

विवृतौ । यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः

Open sounds. Those that are will appear.

एवमपि कुत एतत् तुल्यस्थानौ प्रयत्नभिन्नौ भविष्यतः, न पुनस्तुल्यप्रयत्नौ स्थानभिन्नौ स्याताम् ईकार ऊकारो वेति ।

Granting this, how is it that only those that have the same place of articulation but different *prayatnas* are taken to be like sounds and not those who have the same *prayatna* but different places of articulation, like *ī* and *ū* ?

वक्ष्यति स्थानेन्तरतमः इत्यत्र स्थान इत्यनुवर्तमाने पुनः स्थानेग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं यत्र अनेकविधमान्तर्यं तत्र स्थानतः आन्तर्यं बलीयो भवतीति ¹ ।

He is going to say in the *bhāṣya* under the sūtra *Sthānēsntara-tamaḥ* that, though the word *sthānē* can be taken there to follow from the sūtra *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā*, the reading of *sthānē* there suggests that, of the many kinds of relationships, that from the place of articulation predominates.

III

तत्रानुवृत्तिनिर्देशे ² संवर्णाग्रहणमनष्ट्वात्

There-in the *akāra* as in अइउण् -there cannot be *savarṇagrahaṇa*, since it is not an *aṇ*.

1. स्थानत एवान्तर्यं बलीयो यथा स्यात् is another reading.
2. अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशः—वृत्तिं वर्णसमाप्तायम् अनुगतः तत्सदृशः अनुवृत्तिः अकारादिः तस्य निर्देशः स्वरूपेण उच्चारणम् इत्यर्थः (उद्योत under अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः)

तत् अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशे सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न प्राप्नोति—अस्य च्चौ, यस्येति च ।
किं कारणम्? अनपत्वात्, न ह्येते अणः येऽनुवृत्तौ

There, in the sūtras, *Asya cvāu* and *Yasyēli ca* where is read *akāra* as in अइउण् of the *Māhēśvarasūtras*, it cannot comprehend like sounds. Why? Since it does not come under the *pratyāhāra aṇ*. Those which are in *anuvṛtti* are not *aṇaḥ*.

के तर्हि? If so, which are *aṇaḥ*?

येऽक्षरसमाम्नाये उपदिश्यन्ते

Those that are read in *Māhēśvarasūtras*.

एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम्

The point is achieved on account of oneness of *akāra*.

एकोऽयमकारो यश्चाक्षरसमाम्नाये यश्चानुवृत्तौ यश्च धात्वादिस्यः

This *akāra* is one whether it is in *Aiun*, *Asya cvāu* etc., or in *dhātu* etc.

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु Confusion in the effect of *anubandhas*.

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु प्राप्नोति कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति, केऽपि
णित्कृतं प्राप्नोति ।

There will arise confusion in the effect of the different *anubandhas*. For instance, the operation of the sūtras *Karmanyan* and *Ātōsnupasargē kaḥ* will be so confused that the effect of *ṇit* will be found in *kit*.

एकाजनेकाग्रहणेषु चानुपपत्तिः

Also the inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with *ēkāc* and *anēkāc*.

एकाजनेकाग्रहणेषु चानुपपत्तिर्भवति ¹

There will arise inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with words having one vowel and those having many vowels.

तत्र को दोषः? What will be the harm there?

किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकाजलक्षणमन्तोदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति, इह च घटेन तरति
घटिक इति द्व्यजलक्षणः षन् न प्राप्नोति

1. *Bhaviṣyati* is another reading. The word *ēkāc* generally means a syllable, but here it means a vowel.

In the words *kirinā* and *giriṇā* the final syllable will be accented, since there is only one vowel *i* in both. So also the pratyaya *iku* (ṣṭhan) which is enjoined after a word having two vowels cannot appear after the word *ghaṭa*, so that the word *ghaṭika* used in the sense of one who crosses with the help of a pot cannot be formed.

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः Applications as in *dravyas*.

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्तुवन्ति । तद्यथा—द्रव्येषु नैकेन घटेन अनेको युगपत्कार्यं करोति ; एवम् इममकारं नानेको युगपदुच्चारयेत्

Applications have to be done as in the case of *dravyas*. As many cannot simultaneously make use of one pot among *dravyas*, so also many cannot pronounce this *akāra* simultaneously.

The three objections raised against the statement *Ēkatvād akārasya siddham* are answered as follows:—

विषयेण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

The point is achieved from different indication in each place.

यदयं विषये विषये नानालिङ्गमकारं करोति—कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति तेन ज्ञायते नानुबन्धसङ्करोऽस्तीति । यदि हि स्यात् नानालिङ्गकरणमनर्थकं स्यात्, एकमेवायं सर्वगुणमुच्चारयेत्

Since the Ācārya makes different indication in each place like 'ṇ' in *Karmāṇyaṇ* and 'k' in *Ātosnupasargē kaḥ*, it is learnt that there is no confusion in the effect of *anubandhas*. Had there been any confusion, the reading of different indications will be of no avail ; he would have read only one *akāra* with all *anubandhas*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, इत्संज्ञाप्रवृत्त्यर्थमेतत्स्यात् ; न ह्ययमनुबन्धैः शल्यकवच्छेद उपचेतुम्, इत्संज्ञायां हि दोषः स्यात्, आयम्य हि द्वयोरित्संज्ञा स्यात् । कयोः ? आद्यन्तयोः

This is not a *jñāpaka*, since it is intended to enable them get the designation of *it* ; for it is not possible to heap *anubandhas* like porcupine (its quills), since in such a case there will be difficulty in getting the designation of *it*; all being put together

the designation of *it* is possible only for two. For which two? For the initial and the final sounds.

एवं तर्हि

विषयेण तु पुनर्लिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम् यदयं विषये विषये पुनर्लिङ्गमकारं करोति—
प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्, शिवादिभ्योऽण् इति । तेन ज्ञायते नानुबन्धसङ्करोऽस्तीति । यदि
हि स्यात्पुनर्लिङ्गकरणमनर्थकं स्यात् ।

If so, the point is achieved on account of the repetition of the same indicator in different places, like *aṇ* in *Prāgdīvyatōṣṇ*, and *Śivādibhyōṣṇ*. Hence it is understood that there is no *anubandha-saṅkara*. If it were, the repetition of the same *anubandha* will be of no avail.

¹ अथवा पुनरस्तु विषयेण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम् इत्येव

Or let it be that the point is achieved on account of the different indicator in each place.

ननु चोक्तम्—इत्संज्ञाप्रवृत्त्यर्थमेतत् स्याद् इति ?

Has it not been said that it is intended to enable them get the designation of *it* ?

नैष दोषः । लोके एतत्सिद्धम् । तद्यथा लोके कश्चिदेवं देवदत्तमाह—इह
मुण्डो भव, इह जटिलो भव, इह शिखी भव, इति यल्लिङ्गो यत्रोच्यते तल्लिङ्गस्तत्रोप-
तिष्ठते । एवमयमकारो यल्लिङ्गो यत्रोच्यते तल्लिङ्गस्तत्रोपस्थास्यते ।

No, that objection cannot stand. The purpose is achieved as it is in the world. For instance we see in the world one telling *Dēvadatta*, “Appear here with a shaven head, appear here with matted hair and appear here with a tuft” and *Dēvadatta* coming there with that particular mark. So also it is only that *akāra* having the specified indicator appears on the scene.

यदप्युच्यते ‘एकाजनेकाजग्रहणेषु चानुपपत्तिः’ इति,

एकाजनेकाजग्रहणेषु चावृत्तिसंख्यानात्

The objection that was raised about the inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with *ēkāk* and *anēkāk* is met thus—by counting the repeated sound in the sūtras dealing with *ēkāk* and *anēkāk*.

1. This argument is perhaps *Mahābhāṣyakāra*’s own.

एकाजनेकाजग्रहणेषु चावृत्तेः संख्यानादनेकाच्चत्वं भविष्यति । तद्यथा 'सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्ति' इति, 'त्रिः प्रथमामन्वाह त्रिरुत्तमाम्' इत्यावृत्तितः सप्तदशत्वं भवति । एवमिहाप्यावृत्तितोऽनेकाच्चत्वं भविष्यति

Anēkācva is accomplished in the sūtras dealing with *ēkāc* and *anēkāc* by counting the repeated sounds. For instance *sāmidhēnī rks* are counted as seventeen (though they are only thirteen in number) by reading the first and the last *rks* thrice each. So also *anēkācva* is accomplished here by the repetition of the same sound.

भवेदावृत्तितः कार्यं परिहृतम् । इह तु खलु किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकाजलक्षण-मन्तोदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति

The objection was met with by saying that the desired object is achieved by the repetition. But here in the words *kirinā* and *girinā*, only the final syllable will be accented since there is only one vowel *i* in both the stems.

एतदपि सिद्धम् Here too the desired object is achieved.

कथम् ? How ?

लोकतः—तद्यथा ऋषिसहस्रमेकां कपिलामेकैकशः सहस्रकृत्वो दत्त्वा तया सर्वे ते सहस्रदक्षिणाः संपन्नाः । एवमिहापि अनेकाच्चत्वं भविष्यति

From the world. A thousand of seers get the fruit of having given away in charity thousand cows though there is only one brown cow, each giving her thousand times (by purchasing it back every time from the recipient). So also *anēkācva* is accomplished here.

¹ यदप्युच्यते 'द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्नुवन्तीति' भवेद् यदसंभवि कार्यं तन्नानेको युगपत्कुर्यात्; यत्तु खलु संभवि कार्यं अनेकोऽपि तद्युगपत्करोति । तद्यथा घटस्य दर्शनं स्पर्शनं वा । संभवि चेदं कार्यमकारस्योच्चारणं नाम; अनेकोऽपि तद्युगपत् करिष्यति

1. It deserves to be noted that there is no *vārttika* answering the objection raised by *dravyavacca upacārāḥ*. Perhaps the same *vārttika* was read here also and was interpreted by Mahābhāṣyakāra in a different way, but was omitted by the scribe,

The objection that was raised that the applications are as in the case of *dravyas* is met thus :—it is true in the case of that which many cannot handle simultaneously ; but in cases where many can handle the same thing at the same time, it is not true. For instance the seeing of a pot or the touching of it. The pronouncing of *akāra* is thus possible ; many pronounce it at the same time.

From the above it is clear that all the objections raised against the statement *Ekatvād akārasya siddham* have been satisfactorily answered. Henceforth another set of objections is thrown against the same statement.

आन्यभाव्यं तु कालशब्दव्यवायात्

No, there is the state of being different on account of the intervention of time and sound.

आन्यभाव्यं त्वकारस्य, कुतः ? कालशब्दव्यवायात्—कालव्यवायात् शब्द-
व्यवायाच्च ; कालव्यवायात् दण्ड - अग्रम् ; शब्दव्यवायात् - दण्डः । न चैकस्यात्मनो
व्यवायेन भवितव्यम् ; भवति चेद्भवत्यान्यभाव्यमकारस्य

There is the state of being different in *akāra*. Why ? On account of the intervention of time and sound—on account of the intervention of time and on account of the intervention of sound—*viz. dāṇḍa-agram, dāṇḍah* : There is no intervention for the same sound. If there is intervention, they are different.

युगपच्च देशपृथक्त्वदर्शनात्

On account of its being found simultaneously in different places.

युगपच्च देशपृथक्त्वदर्शनान्मन्यामहे आन्यभाव्यमकारस्य इति, यदयं युगपद्देश-
पृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते अश्वः अर्कः अर्थ इति । न ह्येको देवदत्तो युगपत्सुम्ने च भवति
मथुरायां च ॥

Since the *akāra* is found in different places at the same time, we think they are different. It is found in different places at the same time in the words *aśvah, arkah* and *arthah*. The same *Dēvadatta* cannot remain at the same time at *Srughna* and at *Mathurā*.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः शकुनिवत्स्युः¹ Suppose these sounds are like birds.

1. This is in answer to the objection *Kālaśabdavyāvāyāt*.

तद्यथा शकुनय आशुगामित्वात्पुरस्तादुत्पतिताः पश्चाद्दृश्यन्ते, एवमयमकारो द
इत्यत्र दृष्टो ण्ड इत्यत्र दृश्यते
Just as the birds that seat themselves first in a row quickly
fly from their places and seat themselves last, so also the *akāra*
is first found after 'द' and then after 'ण्ड'

नैवं शक्यम्, अनित्यत्वमेवं स्यात् । नित्याश्च शब्दाः, नित्येषु च शब्देषु
कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः । यदि चायं द इत्यत्र दृष्टो
ण्ड इत्यत्र दृश्येत, नायं कूटस्थः स्यात्

No, this is not possible; for, in that case, words will become
anitya. They are, on the other hand, *nitya* and so words
should have sounds which do not move, change and which are
neither replaced nor augmented. If the 'a' which is seen after
'd' is afterwards seen after 'ण्ड', it cannot be considered
kūṭastha.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः आदित्यवत्स्युः¹

Suppose these sounds behave like the sun.

तद्यथा एक आदित्योऽनेकाधिकरणस्थो युगपद्देशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते

The one sun in different places is seen simultaneously.

विषम उपन्यासः, नैको द्रष्टा आदित्यमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपद्देशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभते
अकारं पुनरुपलभते ॥

The reasoning is not sound. The same observer does not see
the sun in different places at the same time; but he sees so
akāra, on the other hand.

अकारमपि नोपलभते He does not see *akāra* also.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

श्रोत्रोपलब्धिर्बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलित आकाशदेशः शब्दः, एकं च
पुनराकाशम्

Śabda heard by the ear, understood by the mind and exhibited
by the sound has for its place only *ākāśa* and *ākāśa* is one.

आकाशदेशा अपि बहवः, यावता बहवः तस्मादान्यभाव्यमकारस्य

1. This is in answer to the objection युगपच्च कालपृथक्त्वदर्शनात् Cf. आदित्य-
वद्यौगपद्यम् (*Jāminiya sūtra* 1-1-15); & Vol. IV p. 164

The *ākāśadēśas* also are many. Since they are many, the many-ness of *ākāra* should be conceded.

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम्¹

The object is achieved by taking it to refer to genus.

अवर्णाकृतिरुपादिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति, तथेवर्णाकृतिः

The genus *a* when pronounced comprehends the whole family of the individuality *a*. So is the genus of *i* and so is the genus of *u*.

तद्वच्च तपरकरणम्

एवं च कृत्वा तपराः क्रियन्ते आकृतिग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति

The association of the *anubandha t* has it (*ākṛtipakṣa*) in view.

ननु च सवर्णग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति कृत्वा तपराः क्रियेरन्?

Are they not associated with *t* to avoid the comprehension of like sounds?

प्रत्याख्यायते तत् सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च

It is refuted by सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च (in Vol. III p. 245)

हल्ग्रहणेषु च In the sūtras dealing with consonants.

किम्? What?

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धमित्येव । झलो झलि अवात्ताम्, अवात्तम्, अवात्त, यत्रैत-

न्नास्ति अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति ॥

The object is achieved by taking them refer to genus. The words *avāttām*, *avāttam* and *avātta* will be formed from *avā-s-s-tām*, *avās-s-tam* & *avās-s-ta* by the application of झलो झलि where there is no room for the principle अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति to operate.

रूपसामान्याद्वा Or by the similarity of shape.

रूपसामान्याद्वा सिद्धमेतत् । तद्यथा 'तानेव शाटकानाच्छादयामः ये मथुरा-याम्' 'तानेव शालीन् भुञ्जमहे ये मगधेषु', 'तदेवेदं भवतः कार्षापणं यन्मथुरायां गृहीतम्' अन्यस्मिन्श्चान्यस्मिन् रूपसामान्यात्तवेदमिति भवति । एवमिहापि रूप-सामान्यात् सिद्धम् ॥

1. Cf. आकृत्यभिधानाद्वैकं विभक्तौ वाजप्यायनः (Vol. IV p. 162)

This is achieved even by the similarity of shape. For instance even though objects are different, they are taken to be one from similarity of shape and hence we see the following usage : We dress ourselves with the same dress as at Mathura ; we eat the same rice as at Magadha ; this is the same coin as was received at Mathura. So also our object is achieved here by taking the *ākāras* to be one from similarity of shape.

The topics II and III are based on व्यक्तपक्ष. The objections raised in the third topic were finally answered by first taking recourse to जातिपक्ष in the statement आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् and then to व्यक्तपक्ष in the statement रूपसामान्याद्वा.

Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says ' अकारव्यक्तीनामानन्त्यमाश्रित्य वार्तिककृता वर्ण-समाम्नायस्थस्य विवृतत्वेऽपि धात्वादिस्थस्यापि विवृतोपदेशो नोदितः ; भाष्य-कृता तु प्रयोगस्थानां प्रत्याहारस्थैः ग्रहणाय तत्र जातिनिर्देशे आवश्यकं जाते-र्विवृतत्वप्रतिज्ञानेनैव सर्वसिद्धेः स दोषो वारितः ' । But on looking at the *vārttika* " सवर्णेऽण् ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणात् " under the *sūtra* ' अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ' it seems that *Vārttikakāra* himself has given expression to *jātipakṣa*. Perhaps the statement *Rūpa-sāmānyād vā* may be *Mahābhāṣyakāra*'s own, since, wherever he deals with the interpretation of the word *ākṛti*, he takes it in both the senses of *jāti* and shape.

ऋलृक्

अथ ¹ लृकारोपदेशः किमर्थः ? Why is लृ read here ?

किं विशेषेण लृकारोपदेशश्चोद्यते न पुनरन्येषामपि वर्णानामुपदेशश्चोद्यते ? यदि किञ्चिदन्येषामपि वर्णानामुपदेशे प्रयोजनमस्ति लृकारोपदेशस्यैव तद्विवृतुमर्हति । को वा विशेषः ?

Why is the reading of the letter लृ alone specially discussed and not that of other letters ? If there is any use in reading other letters, the same may be for that of लृ. What is the speciality ?

अयमस्ति विशेषः । अस्य हि लृकारस्य अल्पीयांश्चैव प्रयोगविषयः । यश्चापि प्रयोगविषयः सोऽपि क्लृपितस्यैव ; कृपेश्च लृत्वमसिद्धं, तस्य असिद्धत्वाद् ऋकारस्यैव अच्कार्याणि भविष्यन्ति । नार्थं लृकारोपदेशेन

1. लृकारस्य उपदेशः is another reading.

There is this speciality. There is but a little use of this in words. The only place where it is found is in the formations having the element *klp*. The *lutva* in *krp* is non-existent¹ and hence the *ackārya* will happen to *r*. Hence there is no use of reading *l*.

अत उत्तरं पठति — Thus does he read the answer.

लकारोपदेशो यदृच्छाशक्तिजानुकरणप्लुत्याद्यर्थः

Reading of *l* is for the sake of *yadr̥cchāśabda*, *aśaktijānu karaṇaśabda* and *plutyādi*.

लकारोपदेशः क्रियते यदृच्छाशब्दार्थः अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थः प्लुत्याद्यर्थश्च । यदृच्छाशब्दार्थस्तावत् — यदृच्छया कश्चित् लृतको नाम, तस्मिन्नकार्याणि यथा स्युः दध्यलृतकाय देहि, मध्यलृतकाय देहि, उदङ्ङलृतकोऽगमत्, प्रत्यङ्ङलृतकोऽगमत् । चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः, जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दाः यदृच्छाशब्दाश्चतुर्थाः लृ is read for the sake of यदृच्छाशब्द, अशक्तिजानुकरणशब्द and प्लुत्यादि. First for the sake of यदृच्छाशब्द (i. e.) word coined at random to name a person or object without its being formed from any root. One is named लृतक. When that word is used, the vowel-laws have to operate, viz दध्यलृतकाय (दधि+लृतकाय) देहि, मध्यलृतकाय (मधु+लृतकाय) देहि, उदङ्ङलृतकः (उदङ्+लृतकः) अगमत्, प्रत्यङ्ङलृतकः (प्रत्यङ्+लृतकः) अगमत्. The flow of words is fourfold—*jātiśabdāḥ* (words denoting genus), *guṇaśabdāḥ* (words denoting quality), *kriyāśabdāḥ* (words denoting action) and *yadr̥cchāśabdāḥ*.

अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थः—अशक्त्या कयाचित् ब्राह्मण्या ऋतक इति प्रयोक्तव्ये लृतक इति प्रयुक्तं, तस्यानुकरणं ब्राह्मण्यलृतक इत्याह कुमार्यलृतक इत्याह इति For the sake of imitating the word mispronounced on account of incapacity. On account of incapacity *ṛtaka* was mispronounced as *ltaka* by a brahman woman and it was quoted thus ब्राह्मण्यलृतक इत्याह, कुमार्यलृतक इत्याह.

प्लुत्याद्यर्थश्च—के पुनः प्लुत्यादयः? प्लुतिद्विवचनस्वरिताः—क्लृप्तः, प्रक्लृप्तः; प्लुत्यादिषु कार्येषु कृपेर्लृप्तं सिद्धं, तस्य सिद्धत्वादकार्याणि न सिध्यन्ति । तस्माद् लकारोपदेशः क्रियते

1. कृपो रो लः 8—2—18

For the sake of *plutyādi*. What are *plutyādis*? *Plutiḥ*, *dvirvacanam* and *svaritaḥ* viz. *Kṛptaśikha*, *klpptaḥ*, *prakṛptaḥ*. In the operations of *pluti* etc. लृ in कृप् is *siddha* and hence the vowel-rules will not operate. Hence the letter लृ should be read in the sūtra

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि These are not the benefits.

न्याय्यभावात्कल्पनं संज्ञादिषु

In the case of designations, reading of correct ones.

न्याय्यस्य ऋतकशब्दस्य भावात् कल्पनं संज्ञादिषु साधु मन्यन्ते, ऋतक एवासौ न लृतक इति । अपर आह—न्याय्य ऋतकशब्दः शास्त्रान्वितोऽस्ति स कल्पयितव्यः साधुः संज्ञादिषु, ऋतक एवासौ न लृतकः ।

Since there is the correct form in *Rtaka*, it is considered that only the correct forms should be used thus—he is *Rtaka* and not *Ltaka*. Another thinks that, on hearing the word *ltaka*, the hearer should consider that it is the corrupt form of the grammatically correct word *rtaka*.¹

अयं तर्हि यदृच्छाशब्दोऽपरिहार्यः—लृफिडः, लृफिडुश्चेति ।

This यदृच्छाशब्द—लृफिडः or लृफिडुः cannot be avoided.

एषोऽपि ऋफिड ऋफिडुश्च । This too is *Rphiḍa* or *Rphiḍḍa*.

कथम् ? How ?

अतिप्रवृत्तिश्चैव हि लोके लक्ष्यते । फिडफिडुवौणादिकौ प्रत्ययौ । त्रयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः—जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दा इति । न सन्ति यदृच्छाशब्दाः

In the word the root *rt* is used. *Phiḍa* and *Phiḍḍa* are formatives that come under the *uṇādi*. The flow of words is only threefold—*jātisabdāḥ*, *guṇasabdāḥ* and *kriyāśabdāḥ*. There are no *yadr̥cchāśabdāḥ*.

अन्यथा कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्तम् अन्यथा कृत्वा परिहारः, सन्ति यदृच्छाशब्दा इति कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्तं, न सन्तीति परिहारः । समाने चार्थे शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निवर्तको भवति, तद्यथा देवदत्तशब्दो देवदिणशब्दं निवर्तयति न गाव्यादीन् The benefits were enumerated on the basis of one view and refutation is made on the basis of another view (i.e.) the

1. The word *Rtaka* is derived from the root *rt*.

benefits were enumerated on the strength of the view that there are *yadr̥cchāśabdas* and the refutation is on the strength of the view that there are no *yadr̥cchāśabdas*. A grammatically correct word can make one avoid another considered to be incorrect only if both have the same *pravṛttinimitta*;¹ for instance the word *Dēvadatta* can be the correct form of *Dēva-din̄ṇa* and not *gāvī* etc.

नैष दोषः, पक्षान्तरैरपि परिहारा भवन्ति

This is no harm, for refutations are made even on the basis of different views.

Having refuted the first point that the reading of लृ is for the sake of *yadr̥cchāśabdas*, he takes the second point for review.

अनुकरणं शिष्टाशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धेषु यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु

Imitation of enjoined or non-prohibited ones, as in incidents of *lōka* and in *Veda*.

अनुकरणं हि शिष्टस्य वा (तत्) साधु भवति । अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धस्य वा नैव तद्दोषाय भवति नाभ्युदयाय । यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु—यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावत् — य एवमसौ ददाति य एवमसौ यजते य एवमसावधीत इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् दद्याच्च यजेत चाधीयीत च सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते, वेदेऽपि य एवं विश्वसृजः सत्राण्यध्यासत इति तेषामनुकुर्वन् तद्वत्सत्राण्यध्यासीत सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते : अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं यथा - य एवमसौ हिक्कति य एवमसौ हसति य एवमसौ कण्डूयति इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् हिक्केच्च हसेच्च कण्डूयेच्च, नैव तद्दोषाय स्यान्नाभ्युदयाय । यस्तु खलु एवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरां पिबति इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् सुरां वा पिबेत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात्

Imitation is either of the enjoined ones, which is good. Or it is of what is neither enjoined nor prohibited, which brings in neither demerit nor merit. As is found in those of the world and the Vedas—as is found in the incidents of the world and the Vedas. First in the world—he too who, seeing that

1. In the previous argument *lāka*, *lphidda* etc. were considered to be *yadr̥cchāśabdas* in the *pūrvapakṣa* and to be *guṇaśabdas* or *kriyāśabdas* in the *siddhānta*.

another gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vedas, imitates him and gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vedas, gets merit. In the Vedas also – he too who seeing *Viśvasṛts* performing *sattras* imitates them and performs *sattras*, gets merit. That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited is illustrated thus—he who seeing another hiccupping, laughing or scratching in a peculiar fashion imitates him and hiccups, laughs or scratches in the same way gets neither merit nor demerit. Similarly he who seeing another killing a brahman in a particular way and drinking wine in a peculiar fashion imitates him, kills a brahman and drinks wine is, in my opinion, an apostate.

विषम उपन्यासः । यश्चैवं हन्ति यश्चानुहन्ति उभौ तौ हतः, यश्चापि पिबति यश्चानुपिबति उभौ तौ पिबतः । यस्तु खलु एवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरां वा पिबतीति तस्यानुकुर्वन् स्नातानुलिप्तः माल्यगुणकण्ठः कदलीस्तम्भं छिन्द्यात् ¹ पयो वा पिबेत् न स मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

The argument is not sound. He who kills thus and he who kills in imitation both kill; he who drinks (wine) and he who drinks (wine) in imitation, both drink (wine). But, on the other hand, he who seeing another killing a brahman cuts a plantain tree in the same way after taking a bath besmearing himself with sandal and wearing a garland in his neck or he who seeing another drinking wine drinks milk in the same way is not, in my opinion, an apostate.

एवमिहापि य एवमसौ अपशब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते इति तस्यानुकुर्वन्नपशब्दं प्रयुञ्जीत सोऽप्यपशब्दभाक् स्यात् । अयं तु अन्योऽपशब्दपदार्थकः शब्दो यदर्थ उपदेशः

1. This refers to *kadali-vivāha* Cf.

अक्रौद्धाहो जडादीनामुच्यते तु यवीयसः । विवाहार्थं मुनिश्रेष्ठैस्तमुपाय्य दहेतदा ॥

व्याहृतीभिस्तदा दत्त्वा यथाशक्ति हिरण्यकम् । स्नात्वा सद्यश्शुचिर्भूयादुद्धाहे च तृतीयके ॥

तृतीया स्त्री त्रियेच्छीघ्रं तस्मादेवं चरेद् बुधः । रम्भोद्धाहं तथा कुर्याच्छित्त्वा तत्रैव मानवः ।

त्रिरात्रं सूतकं भूयादिति बोधायनोऽब्रवीत् ॥

Bōdhāyana Gṛhyasūtra 5th prāśna 5th Chap. and *Sāmaveda Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa*, 1-24.

कर्तव्यः । न चापशब्दपदार्थकः शब्दोऽपशब्दो भवति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्, यो हि मन्यते अपशब्दपदार्थकः शब्दोऽपशब्दो भवतीति, अपशब्द इत्येव तस्यापशब्दः स्यात्, न चैषोऽपशब्दः

So also here he who seeing another using ungrammatical words uses the same gets demerit. This word is another which connotes the ungrammatical word, for which *upadēśa* is necessary. The word which connotes an incorrect word is not incorrect. This should be clearly understood that he who thinks that the word which connotes an incorrect word is incorrect should have to say that the word *apaśabda* itself is ungrammatical, which is not the case.

Mahābhāṣyakāra, taking recourse to the *nyāya*—*Tuṣyatu durjanah* proceeds thus :—¹

अयं खल्वपि भूयोऽनुकरणशब्दोऽपरिहार्यः यदर्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः—साध्वल्-कारमधीते मध्वल्कारमधीते इति

Again this *anukaranaśabda* cannot be avoided for which *l* should be read in the sūtra—*Sādhvulkāram adhīte, Madhulkāram adhīte*.

कस्थस्य पुनरेतदनुकरणम्?

Where is this *l* which is imitated found ?

क्लपिस्थस्य In the word *klp*.

यदि क्लपिस्थस्य, क्लपेश्च लत्वमसिद्धम्, तस्य असिद्धत्वाद् ऋकार एवाच्कार्याणि भविष्यन्ति

If it is of *klp*, the *l* of *klp* is *asiddha* and hence the vowel-laws operate to *r*.

भवेत्तदर्थेन नार्थः स्यात् । अयं त्वन्यः क्लपिस्थपदार्थकः शब्दः यदर्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः

It may be that it may not be useful on that behalf; but this word is one which connotes the letter in the word *klp*, for which there is need for *upadēśa*.

1. Granting that the imitation of an incorrect word is also incorrect, he says that, when one has to say that one studies *l* well and that one studies *l* in a fine manner, the sūtra *Ikō yaṇ aci* has to operate and hence *l* should find a place in the sūtra *Rīk*.

न कर्तव्यः । इदमवश्यं कर्तव्यम्¹ 'प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवति' इति
This need not be done. This should be accepted that the imitator is like the imitated.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

द्विः पचन्त्वित्याह, तिङ्ङतिङ् इति निघातो यथा स्यात्, अग्नी इत्याह ईदूदे-
द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् इति प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा यथा स्यात्

In the expression द्विः पचन्तु इत्याह the verb पचन्तु should have all its syllables unaccented by the operation of the rule तिङ्ङतिङ्. In the expression अग्नी इत्याह, अग्नी should get the प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा by the operation of the rule ईदूदेद्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्.

यदि प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीत्युच्यते अपशब्द एवासौ भवति कुमार्यल्लतक इत्याह ब्राह्मण्यल्लतक इत्याह, अपशब्दो ह्यस्य प्रकृतिः । न चापशब्दः प्रकृतिः, न ह्यपशब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते, न चानुपदिष्टा प्रकृतिरस्ति ।

If the principle *prakṛtivad-anukaraṇa* is conceded, the word ल्लतक in the expressions कुमार्यल्लतक इत्याह, ब्राह्मण्यल्लतक इत्याह will become an *apaśabda*, since its *prakṛti* is *apaśabda*. *Apaśabda* cannot be taken as *prakṛti*; for *apaśabdas* are not read, and that which is not read is not *prakṛti*.

From the above it is clear that, according to *Vārttikakāra*, imitator also is *apaśabda* and hence ल्ल need not be read in the *sūtra* on that score. According to *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, imitator of an *apaśabda* is not an *apaśabda* and the principle प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवति cannot operate here and hence ल्ल should be read in the *sūtra*.

Having refuted the first two, he takes the third point for review.

एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात्प्लुत्यादयः

Pluṭi and others on account of the principle एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत्

एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवतीति प्लुत्यादयोऽपि भविष्यन्ति

An object which is maimed a little is nothing but the same and hence *pluṭi* and others will appear.

1. *Vaktavyam* is another reading.

यद्येकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवतीत्युच्यते राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, अल्लोपोऽन इति लोपः प्राप्नोति ।

If the principle *Ekadēśa-vikṛtam ananyavad bhavati* is conceded, the *a* after *j* in *rājakīyam* which is the result of *Rājñāḥ ka ca* will have to be dropped by the *sūtra Allōpōsnaḥ*.

एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य ¹

The principle एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवति applies to that which is indicated by the genitive case. ²

यदि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्येत्युच्यते क्लृप्तशिख इति प्लुतो न प्राप्नोति, न ह्यत्र ऋकारः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः

If it is said that it holds good only to that which is indicated by the genitive case, *pluta* of *l* in क्लृप्तशिख cannot be got, since here (in the *sūtra* कृपो रो लः) *r* is not indicated by the genitive case.

कस्तर्हि ? What then ?

रेफः R

ऋकारोऽप्यत्र षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः ।

R also is here indicated by the genitive case.

कथम् ? How ?

अविभाक्तिको निर्देशः, कृप उः रः लः कृपो रो लः इति ।

The stem is read with the case-suffix elided so that कृपो रो लः is split thus—कृप, उः, रः लः ³

अथ वा पुनरस्तु अविशेषेण

Or let the *nyāya* एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद् भवति apply without any reservation.

ननु चोक्तं राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, अल्लोपोऽनः इति लोपः प्राप्नोति इति ?

1. एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य इति वक्ष्यामि is another reading.

2. In the *sūtra Rājñāḥ ka ca*, only the word *rājan* is indicated by the genitive case, while the elision of *a* is enjoined only to *an* by the *sūtra Allōpōsnaḥ*.

3. The word *kṛpō* is split as *kṛpa* and *uḥ* where *kṛpa* is the stem without the genitive case-suffix and *uḥ* is the genitive case of *r*.

Has it not been said that अल्लोऽपोऽनः will operate in the word राजकीयम् got by the operation of the *sūtra* राज्ञः क च ?

नैष दोषः, वक्ष्यत्येतत् श्वादीनां प्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणमनकारान्तप्रतिषेधार्थम् इति, (*Vārttika* under VI-4-133) तत्प्रकृतमुत्तरत्रानुवर्तिष्यते, अल्लोपोऽनः (VI-4-134) नकारान्तस्येति

It is no harm. He (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to read that the comprehension of नकारान्त in the *sūtra* श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते (VI-4-133) dealing with the सम्प्रसारण of श्वन् etc. is to prohibit those which are not नकारान्त. The same नकारान्तस्य is taken in the following *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः

इह तर्हि क्लृप्सशिख, अनृत इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

In the case of क्लृप्सशिख, then, the prohibition by *anṛtaḥ* (in the *sūtra* *Gurōr-anṛtōsnantyaśya* . . . VII-2-86) will operate.

रवत्प्रतिषेधाच्च By the prohibition of those which have *r*.

रवत्प्रतिषेधाच्चैतत्सिध्यति गुरोररवतः इति वक्ष्यामि

Then the desired object is accomplished by prohibiting those which have *r* and hence I shall read *aravataḥ* instead of *anṛtaḥ*.

यद्यरवत इत्युच्यते होतृ ऋकारः होतृरेकारः अत्र न प्राप्नोति

If *aravataḥ* is read, the *pluta* in *hōtrṛkārāḥ* which is the result of the combination *hōtr* and *ṛkārāḥ* will not take place.

गुरोरवतो ह्रस्वस्य इति वक्ष्यामि

Then shall I read *Gurōr aravatō hrasvasya*.

स एष सूत्रभेदेन लृकारोपदेशः प्लुत्याद्यर्थः सन् प्रत्याख्यायते, सैषा महतो वंशस्तम्बात् लट्त्वानुकृष्यते

This *lḥkāropadēśa* which is for the sake of *pluti* is rejected by remodelling the *sūtra* *Gurōr anṛtaḥ*....; this is like taking hold of a small bird called *latvā* from bamboo-bush.

From the last sentence it is clear that the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* favours the view that the *upadēśa* of *lḥkāra* is necessary and that the flow of words is fourfold. Some think that this is a sort of satirical utterance of *Mahābhāṣyakāra* against *Vārttikakāra*. From the preface it may be learnt that it is not so, but it is only a fact stated with a vein of humour.

एओङ्, ऐऔच्

There are only *three* topics that are dealt with here:—
(1) whether the purpose is served by reading the *sūtras* as *Ēōṇ* and *Āi-āuc* or whether they have to be read as *Ēt ōt ṇ* and *Āit āut c* (2) whether the word *dīrgha* is to be read in *sūtras* which enjoin *ēc* as *ēkādēśa* and (3) whether such sounds as form part of diphthongs, long vowels, *r* and *l*, and as are similar to others are to be taken as their limbs or not.

1

इदं विचार्यते इमानि सन्ध्यक्षराणि तपराणि वा उपदिश्येरन् एत् ओत् इ,
ऐत् औत् च् इति, अतपराणि वा यथान्यासम् इति
This is discussed whether these diphthongs have to be read with *t* following each as *Ēt ōt ṇ* and *Āit āut c* or without *t* as they are now.

कश्चात् विशेषः ? What is here the difference ?

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोच्चारणम्

Need for reading *t* at the end, if the diphthongs have to be followed by *t*.

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोच्चारणं कर्तव्यम्

If the diphthongs have to be followed by *t*, *t* has to be read at the end.

प्लुत्यादिष्वजिधिः

Rules relating to *ac* (will not apply) to *pluta* and others.

प्लुत्यादिषु अजाश्रयो विधिर्न सिध्यति, गोत्रात् नौत्रात् इत्यत्र अनचि च
इति अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवत इति द्विर्वचनं न प्राप्नोति, इह च प्रत्यङ्ङैतिकायन
उदङ्ङौऽपगव इति अचि इति ङमुडागमो न प्राप्नोति

In the case of *pluta* and others the rules relating to *ac* will not operate. For instance the doubling of *t* in *gōṣṭrāta* and *Nāuṣṭrāta* by the rule *Anaci ca* cannot take place;¹ so also the doubling of *ṇ* in *pratyāñṇāṣṭikāyana* and *udāñṇāuṣṭpa-gava* cannot take place, since *ṇ* should be followed by an *ac*.

1. The reason is that ओऽ and औऽ are not comprehended by the *pratyāhāra ac*.

प्लुतसंज्ञा च Even the symbol *pluta*.

प्लुतसंज्ञा च न सिध्यति, ऐ३तिकायन, औ३पगव, ऊकालोऽज्झस्वदीर्घप्लुतः
इति प्लुतसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति
Even the *saṃjñā pluta* cannot be had. For instance in *Āi३tikāyana* and *Āu३pagava*, *Āi३* and *Āu३* cannot get the designation *pluta*, since *plutasamjñā* is enjoined only to an *ac* in the *sūtra* ऊकालोऽज्झस्वदीर्घप्लुतः.

सन्तु तर्हि अतपराणि If so, let them be not followed by *t*.

अतपर एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे

If they are not followed by *t*, there is the need for the *sūtra* *Eca igghrasvādēṣē*.

यद्यतपराणि एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे इति वक्तव्यम्

If they are not तपर, the *sūtra Eca igghrasvādēṣē* has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

एचो ह्रस्वादेशशासनेष्वर्ध एकारोऽर्ध ओकारो वा मा भूद् इति

So that 'half *e*' and 'half *o*' may not be used when the rules relating to the shortening of long vowels operate.

ननु च यस्यापि तपराणि तेनाप्येतद्वक्तव्यम्; इमावैचौ समाहारवर्णौ मात्रा-
वर्णस्य मात्रेवर्णोवर्णयोः । तयोर्ह्रस्वादेशशासनेषु कदाचिदवर्णः स्यात् कदाचिदिवर्णोवर्णौ,
मा कदाचित् अवर्णं भूद् इति

Oh! this has to be read even when one reads the diphthongs with *t* at the end. The two letters which come under the *pratyāhāra āic* are diphthongs having one *mātrā* for *a* and another *mātrā* for *i* or *u*. Hence when rules relating to shortening operate, sometimes *a* may be substituted and sometimes *i* or *u*. They have to avoid the substitution of *a*.

प्रत्याख्यायत एतद् ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् इति

This will be set aside by the *vārttika* ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् ¹

यदि प्रत्याख्यानपक्षः, इदमपि प्रत्याख्यायते सिद्धमेवः सस्यानत्वात् इति

1. This *vārttika* means this :—when *āi* or *āu* is shortened, only *i* and *u* will be substituted since only those two elements predominate in them.

If the view that it may be rejected is held, this too is rejected by the *vārttika* सिद्धमेङ्कः सस्थानत्वात् ¹

ननु चैङः सस्थानतरावर्ध एकारोऽर्ध ओकारश्च ?

Is it not that 'half e' and 'half o' have their place of articulation closer to that of *ē* and *ō* than *i* and *u* ?

न तौ स्तः, यदि हि तौ स्यातां तावेवायमुपदिशेत्

They two do not exist. If they were to exist, he would have read them alone.

ननु च भोः छन्दोगानां सात्यमुग्रिराणायनीया अर्धमेकारमर्धमोकारं चाधीयते—
सुजाते ए अश्वसूत्रे, अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए अन्यत् इति

Oh sir, those who belong to *Sātyamugriśākhā* and *Rāṇāyanīya-śākhā* among *Sāmavedins* read 'half e' and half o viz. सुजाते ए अश्वसूत्रे (R. V. 5, 79, 1) अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए अन्यत्

पार्षदकृतिरेषा तत्रभवताम् । नैव हि लोके नान्यस्मिन् वेदेऽर्ध एकारोऽर्ध ओकारो वास्ति

It is the work of a class of revered people, Neither in ordinary usage nor in any other veda do we find 'half e' or 'half o'.

From this it is evident that there are three defects if the *sūtras* *Ēōn* and *Āiāuc* are read with *t* at their end and there is no defect if they are read as *Ēōṇ* and *Āiāuc*, in both the cases whether the *sūtra* *Ēca ig hrasvādēsē* is *pratyākhyāta* or not².

1. This means thus :—The desired object is achieved since *ē* and *ō* have the same place of articulation as *i* and *u* and hence if they are shortened, only *i* and *u* will take their place.

2. There are two points of view regarding the place of articulation and three points of view regarding the composition of *āi* and *āu*.

Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya and *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* take *ē* to be a palatal vowel like *i* and *ō* a labial vowel like *u*.

Cf. इचशेयास्तलौ (का. प्रा. I, 66) उवोपोपध्मा ओष्ठे (*ibid.* I, 70.)

तालौ जिह्वामध्यमिवर्णे (त. प्रा. II 22);

एकारे च (*ibid.* II 23) ओष्ठोपसंहार उवर्णे (*ibid.* II 24).

ओकारे च, ओष्ठौ तूपसंहृततरौ (*ibid.* II. 13 & 14.)

Kātyāyana seems to favour this view.

II

एकादेशे दीर्घग्रहणम्

Reading of the word *dīrghaḥ* in *ekādēśa*.

एकादेशे दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, आद्गुणो दीर्घः, वृद्धिरेचि दीर्घ इति

In the sūtras enjoining the substitution of one letter for two, the word *dīrgha* should be read as *Ād guṇō dīrghaḥ*, *Vṛddhir eci dīrghaḥ*.

Cf. the *vārttika* एङः सन्धानत्वात्

But *Pāṇiniya śikṣā* takes *ē* and *ō* as *gutturo-palatal* vowel and *gutturo-labial* vowel respectively.

Cf. ए ऐ तु, कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ.

As regards *āi* and *āu* some consider that the *a* element is one *mātrā* and *i* or *u* element is also one *mātrā*.

Cf. मात्रा अवर्णस्य मात्रा इवर्णोवर्णयोः The grammarian *Vāḍava* seems to take this view. [M. B. under प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (VIII—2—106,)] Some consider that the *a* element is half a *mātrā* and *i* or *u* element is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mātrās*. *Tāittirīya-prātiśākhya*, and *Kātyāyana* favour this view.

Cf. अकारार्धम् ऐकारोकारयोरादिः (तै. प्रा. II. 26.)

इकारोऽर्धधः पूर्वस्य शेषः (*ibid* II. 28);

उकारस्तृत्तरस्य *ibid* II 29);

ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् [(*Vārttika* under एच इन्द्रस्वादेशे I. 1—48)].

The sūtra ऐकारोकारयोः कथ्या पूर्वा मात्रा ताल्वोष्ठयोर्त्तरा (का. प्रा. I, 73) seems to mean that *a* in *āi* and *āu* is one *mātrā* and *i* or *u* is one *mātrā*. But the commentator has commented upon it in different ways. Some consider that the *a* element is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mātrās* and *i* or *u* element is half a *mātrā*.

Cf. अध्यर्धमात्रा अवर्णस्य अर्धमात्रा इवर्णोवर्णयोः [M. B. under प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (VIII. 2—106,)]

Philologists favour this view since *āi* and *āu* are represented by the symbols *āi* and *āu*. That this should have been the original pronunciation is seen by the fact that they change to *āy* and *āv* in *sandhi*. The modern pronunciation with *a* having one *mātrā* and *i* or *u* also having one *mātrā* may have been due to the influence of Dravidian Languages.

Cf. *Akara ikara m-aikāra m-ākum*. (*Tolkāppiyam* I. 54.)

Akara ukara m-aukāra m-ākum (*ibid*. I. 55.)

Dr. A. A. MacDonell says that *āi* and *āu* were pronounced as *ai* and *au* even at the time of *Prātiśākhya*s (M. V. G. 15—4.) But the *Prātiśākhya*s which have been published till now do not seem to express this definitely.

According to the second view favoured by *Kātyāyana* the sūtra *Ēca igghrasvādēśē* is unnecessary.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

अन्तर्यतस्त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा मा भूवन्निति,
खट्वा + इन्द्रः = खट्वेन्द्रः, खट्वा + उदकम् = खट्वोदकम्, खट्वा + ईषा = खट्वेषा,
खट्वा + ऊढा = खट्वोढा, खट्वा + एलका = खट्वैलका, खट्वा + ओदनः = खट्वौदनः
खट्वा + ऐतिकायनः = खट्वैतिकायनः, खट्वा + औपगवः = खट्वौपगव इति

Ādēśas of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* in the following:—*khaṭvā + indrah ... khaṭvāupāgavaḥ*.

तत्तर्हि दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the word *dirgha* should be read.

न कर्तव्यम् । उपरिष्ठाद् योगविभागः करिष्यते—अकः सवर्णे, एको भवति, ततो दीर्घः, दीर्घश्च स भवति यः स एकः पूर्वपरयोरित्येवं निर्दिष्ट इति

It need not be read ; for the *sūtra Akah savarnē dirghah* which comes later on is split into two *sūtras Akah savarnē* and *Dirghah*. The former means that when *ak* is followed by a *like* letter, it is replaced by one letter ; and the latter means that the letter to replace two letters is the long letter.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति, पशुम् विद्धम् पचन्ति इति

If so, the same will happen in the words *paśum*, *viddham*, and *pacanti*.

नैष दोषः ; इह तावत्पशुमिति—अभ्येकः इतीयता सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पूर्वग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं यथाजातीयकः पूर्वस्तथाजातीयक उभयोर्यथा स्याद् इति ; विद्धमिति—पूर्वं इत्येवानुवर्तते ; अथ वा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानेन संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घो भवतीति, यदयं हल उत्तरस्य संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घत्वं शास्ति ; पचन्ति इति—अतो गुणे पर इतीयता सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यद्रूपग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं यथाजातीयकं परस्य रूपं तथाजातीयकमुभयोर्यथा स्याद् इति

No, here is no harm. First we shall take *paśum*. The result will be achieved by reading the *sūtra Ami pūrvah* (6—1—107) as *Ami ēkah*. That being so, the *Sūtrakāra* has read the word *pūrvah* which suggests that the *ādēśa* of both the letters will be of the same type as the former of the two. We shall then

take *viddham*. The word *pūrvah* is taken here [in the *sūtra Samprasāraṇācca* (6—1—108)]. Or the reading of the *sūtra Halah* (6—4—2) by the *Sūtrakāra* enjoining the lengthening of the *samprasāraṇa* after a consonant suggests that the lengthening does not operate upon the *samprasāraṇa* resulting from this *sūtra*. Then shall we take *pacanti*. The object is achieved by taking in the *sūtra Atō guṇē* (6—1—97) the word *para* alone. When such is the case, the word *pararūpam* is taken here [from the *sūtra Eñī pararūpam* (6—1—94)], which suggests that the *ādēśa* of both the letters will be of the same type as the latter of the two.

इह तर्हि खट्वर्श्यो मालर्श्य इति दीर्घवचनादकारो न, अनान्त्यदिक्कारौकारौ न
Here then in *khaṭvārśyaḥ* (*khaṭvā + ṛśyaḥ*) *mālarśyaḥ* (*mālā + ṛśyaḥ*), *a* cannot be the *ādēśa*, since it has been said that a long letter should come there and *ē* and *ō* cannot be the *ādēśa* since they are not similar.

तत्र को दोषः? What will be the harm there?

विगृहीतस्य श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

There will be the possibility for the absence of *sandhi*.

न ब्रूमो वयं यत्र क्रियमाणे दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We do not say that we shall take recourse to it where we meet with difficulty.

किं तर्हि? What then?

यत्र क्रियमाणे न दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We should take recourse to it where we meet with no difficulty.

क च क्रियमाणे न दोषः?

Where do we not meet with difficulty by taking recourse to it?

संज्ञाविधौ वृद्धिरादैच् दीर्घः, अदेङ् गुणो दीर्घः इति

In *saṃjñāvidhi* like *Vṛddhirādaic dīrghaḥ*, *Adēṇ guṇō dīrghaḥ*.

तर्हि दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् Then the word *dīrgha* should be read,

न कर्तव्यम् No, it need not.

कस्मादेव आन्तर्यतः त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न भवन्ति?

How will not the *ādēśas* of three or four *mātrās* replace the *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* by adopting the principle of similarity.

तपरे गुणवृद्धी

The *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters are associated with *t*.

ननु च तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः?

Is not *tapara* a *bahuvrīhi* compound?

नेत्याह, तादपि परस्तपर इति

No, says he. It is also a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपरः, ऋदोरप् इतीहैव स्यात् यवः, स्तवः; लवः, पवः

इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra* *Rdōr ap* will operate only with respect to *yavaḥ* and *stavaḥ* and not with respect to *lavaḥ* and *pavaḥ*:

नैष तकारः This is not *takāra*.

कस्तर्हि? What then?

दकारः *Dakāra*.

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम्? What is the use of reading *dakāra*?

अथ किं तकारे? यद्यसन्देहार्थस्तकार दकारोऽपि, अथ मुखसुखार्थस्तकारः

दकारोऽपि इति

What is the use of reading *tokāra*? If it is to avoid doubt, *dakāra* also serves the same purpose; if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

III

इदं विचार्यते—य एतेषु वर्णेषु वर्णैकदेशा वर्णान्तरसमानाकृतय एतेषामवयव-ग्रहणेन ग्रहणं स्याद्वा न वा—इति

This is discussed whether in these letters (*ā, ī, ū, ṛ, ḷ, ē, āi, ō* and *āu*) their parts which resemble other letters operate like the latter (in *sandhi* etc.) or not.

कुतः पुनरियं विचारणा? Wherefrom does this discussion arise?

इह हि समुदाया अप्युपदिश्यन्ते अवयवा अपि । अभ्यन्तरश्च समुदायेऽवयवः, तद्यथा - वृक्षः प्रचलन् सहावयवैः प्रचलति; तत्र समुदायस्यावयवस्य अवयवग्रहणेन ग्रहणं स्याद्वा न वेति जायते विचारणा ।

Here (in the *Māhēśvara sūtras*) are read both wholes (like *āi*, *āu r*, etc.) and parts (like *a*, *i*, *r*, etc). Part is evidently within the whole. *viz.* A tree, when it moves, moves with its parts. Now the need for the discussion whether the parts of the whole operate or not like those which they resemble, arises.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the speciality here ?

वर्णैकदेशा वर्णग्रहणेन चेत् सन्ध्यक्षरे समानाक्षराश्रयो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रतिषेध्यः—अग्ने+इन्द्र, वायो+उदकम् अकः सवर्णे दीर्घ इति दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति

If the parts of letters operate like those which they resemble, the rules relating to *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, will operate with diphthongs. For example in the *sandhi* of *Agnē+indra* and *Vāyō+udakam* the *sūtra Akah savarnē dīrghah* will operate.

दीर्घे ह्रस्वविधिप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of rules relating to short letters with long ones.

दीर्घे ह्रस्वाश्रयो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रतिषेध्यः—आल्य, प्रल्य, ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् भवतीति तुक् प्राप्नोति

Rules relating to short letters will have chance to operate with reference to the corresponding long ones and it is to be prohibited. For example in the words *ālūya* and *pralūya* the *sūtra Hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* will have chance to operate and *tuk* will appear there.

नैष दोषः, आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्जापयति न दीर्घे ह्रस्वाश्रयो विधिर्भवतीति, यदयं दीर्घाच्छे तुकं शास्ति

It is no harm, for the *Ācārya's* procedure suggests that the long letters are not to be affected by the rules relating to short ones, since he reads the *sūtra Dīrghāt* which enjoins *tuk* after a long letter.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This is not a *jñāpaka*, for there is another use of this *sūtra*.

किम् ? What ?

पदान्ताद्वा इति विभाषां वक्ष्यामि इति

To introduce the reader to his *sūtra Padāntād vā* where he enjoins the optional use of *tuk*.

यत्तर्हि योगविभागं करोति, इतरथा हि दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा इत्येव ब्रूयात्
 Since he has read them as two *sūtras*, (we have to take the former to be a *jñāpaka*); for, otherwise, he would have read *Dirghāt padāntād vā* as one *sūtra*.

इह तर्हि खट्वाभिः, मालाभिः, अतो भिस ऐस् इत्येस्भावः प्राप्नोति
 If so, in words *katvābhiḥ* and *mālābhiḥ*, the case-suffix *āis* will appear on the operation of the *sūtra* अतो भिस ऐस्.

तपरकरणसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति
 It does not appear on account of *taparakaraṇa*.

तर्हि याता वाता, अतो लोप आर्धधातुके इत्यकारलोपः प्राप्नोति
 If so, in the words *yātā* and *vātā* the elision of *akāra* will take place on the operation of the *sūtra* *Atō lōpa ārdhadhātukē*.

ननु चात्रापि तपरकरणसामर्थ्यादेव न भविष्यति
 Oh ! even here it will not from *taparakaraṇa* itself.

अस्ति ह्यन्यत्तपरकरणे प्रयोजनम्
 No, for there is another benefit accruing from तपरकरण.

किम् ? What ?

सर्वस्य लोपो मा भूदिति To prevent the elision of the whole.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि तपरे परस्य लोपे कृते पूर्वस्य कस्मान्न भवति ?
 Even if there is तपरकरण, why is not the preceding letter dropped after the elision of the succeeding letter ?

परलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावादसिद्धत्वाच्च
 On account of the *sthānivad-bhāva* of the elision of the succeeding element and its being *asiddha*.

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न आकारस्यस्याकारय लोपो भवतीति, यदयम्
 आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति
 If so, *Ācārya's* procedure suggests that *a* in *ā* is not elided since he reads the *anubandha k* in the *sūtra* *Ātōsnupasargē kaḥ*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?
 In what manner should it be understood so that it may be aken as a *jñāpaka* ?
 †

कित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनम् कितीत्याकारलोपो यथा स्याद् इति । यद्याकारस्थस्या-
कारस्य लोपः स्यात् कित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्—परस्य अकारस्य लोपे कृते द्वयोरकारयोः
पररूपे हि सिद्धं रूपं स्याद् गोदः कम्बलदः इति— । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नाकारस्थस्या-
कारस्य लोपः स्यादिति ; अतः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of *kit-karaṇa* that the elision of *ā* may take place on account of the mention of *kiti*. If the *a* in *ā* can be elided, *kit-karaṇa* will be of no use—when the succeeding *a* is elided, and when there is *pararūpa* with respect to the two *a*'s, the forms *gōdaḥ* and *kambaladaḥ* are formed.—The *Ācārya* sees that *a* in *ā* is not elided and hence uses the *anubandha k*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । उत्तरार्थमेतत् स्यात् तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः इति
This is not a *jñāpaka*. This is for the sake of the following *sūtra* तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः

यत्किं गापोष्टक् इत्यनन्यार्थं ककारमनुबन्धं करोति
If so, he reads the *akāra* with the *anubandha k* in the *sūtra* *Gāpōṣṭak* which serves no other purpose.

एकवर्णवच्च As one letter too.

एकवर्णवच्च दीर्घो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्
It should also be said that long letter is taken as one letter.
किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

वाचा तरतीति द्व्यलक्षणमन्मा भूदिति ; इह च वाचो निमित्तं तस्य निमित्तं
संयोगोत्पातौ इत्यनुवर्तमाने गो द्व्यलक्षणो यन्मा भूदिति

So that the suffix *than* which takes place after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* *Nāu-dvyacaṣ-ṭhan* may not appear in the word *vācika* which means *vācā tarati* and so that *yat* which comes after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* *Gō dvyacaḥ*.....in the sense of *nimitta saṁyōga* or *utpāta* which is taken there from the *sūtra* *Tasya nimittam saṁyōgōlpātāu* may not appear after the word *vā* when the meaning *vācō nimittam* has to be conveyed.

अत्रापि गोनौग्रहणं ज्ञापकं, दीर्घाद् द्व्यलक्षणो विधिर्न भवति इति
Even here the reading of *gō* and *nāu* suggests that the *sūtras* dealing with dissyllables do not operate in a long vowel.

अयं तु सर्वेषामेव परिहारः —

This is the answer to meet all the points raised against.

नाव्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य तद्विधिर्यथा द्रव्येषु

Their rules do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters, but are not taken cognisance of as such, as in *dravyas*.

नाव्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य अवयवाश्रयो विधिर्भवति यथा द्रव्येषु । तद्यथा—द्रव्येषु सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्तीति न सप्तदशारत्निमात्रं काष्ठमन्नावभ्याधीयते

The rules of those letters do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters, but are not taken cognisance of as separate from the whole as in *dravyas*. For instance in the case of *dravyas*, the purpose of the rule सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्ति is not satisfied when a wood seventeen cubits long is thrown on fire.

विषम उपन्यासः, प्रत्यचं चैव हि तत्कर्म चोद्यते, असम्भवश्चाग्नौ वेद्यां च

The argument is not sound. The *karma* is enjoined with reference to every *rk* and it is impossible either for the fire or for the altar to hold it.

यथा तर्हि सप्तदश प्रादेशमात्रीराश्वत्थीः समिधोऽभ्यादधीत इति न सप्तदश प्रादेशमात्रं काष्ठमन्नावभ्याधीयते

If so, the purpose of the rule सप्तदश प्रादेशमात्रीराश्वत्थीः समिधोऽभ्यादधीत is not satisfied when a wood seventeen spans long is thrown into the fire.

अत्रापि प्रतिप्रणवं चैतत्कर्म चोद्यते, तुल्यश्चासंभवोऽग्नौ वेद्यां च

Even here the *karma* is enjoined with reference to the recital of *pranava* each time and it is impossible for the fire or the altar to hold it.

यथा तर्हि तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं, मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम् इति व्यपवृक्तं च न विक्रीयत अव्यपवृक्तं गावः सर्षपाश्च विक्रीयन्ते; तथा लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यमिति व्यपवृक्तं स्पृष्ट्वा नियोगतः कर्तव्यम्, अव्यपवृक्ते कामचारः

If so, as, when it is said that oil should not be sold and that meat should not be sold, they are not sold when they are separated from the whole, but the cows and mustard wherein they

are not separated are sold, and as, when it is said that one should purify himself on touching hair and nail, it is *obligatory* to do it on touching them when they are separated from the body and it does not matter whether one touches them or not when they are not separated from the body, (so is here also).

यत्र तर्हि व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति ?

What will be the case where there is *vyapavarga* ?

क च व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति ? Where is *vyapavarga* ?

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु In diphthongs.

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु विवृतत्वात् (Not) in diphthongs, on account of openness

यदत्र अवर्णं विवृततरं तदन्यस्मात् अवर्णात्, ये अपि इवर्णोवर्णे विवृततरे ते अन्याभ्यामिवर्णोवर्णाभ्याम्

No, there is no *vyapavarga* in diphthongs on account of *vivṛtatva*. The *a* here is more open than *a* elsewhere and the *i* and *u* here are more open than *i* and *u* elsewhere.

अथवा पुनर्न गृह्यन्ते

Or *varṇāikadēśas* are not considered to be those which they resemble.

अग्रहणं चेद् नुङ्विधिलादेशविनामेषु ऋकारग्रहणम्

If it is not taken so, the reading of the letter *r* after the *sūtras* enjoining नुङ्, लादेश and णत्व.

अग्रहणं चेद् नुङ्विधिलादेशविनामेषु ऋकारस्य ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । तस्मान्नुङ् द्विहलः ऋकारे चेति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्याद् आनृधतुः आनृधुः इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते द्विहल इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

If *varṇāikadēśas* are not considered to be those which they resemble, the letter *r* should be read after the *sūtras* enjoining नुङ्, लादेश and णत्व. After the *sūtra* *Tasmān nuḍ dvihalah Ṛkāre ca* should be read, so that the forms *ānṛdhatuḥ* and *ānṛdhuḥ* may be got. By him who holds the *varṇāikadēśa-graṇapākṣa*, it is achieved by the word *dvihalah* itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते, तस्याप्येष न दोषः । द्विहलग्रहणं न करिष्यते, तस्मान्नुङ् भवतीत्येव

It is no harm even to him who holds the *agrahanapakṣa*. The word *dvikalah* is dropped and the *sūtra* becomes *Tasmān nuṭ*.

यदि न क्रियते आटुः आटुः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it is not read, *nuṭ* will appear in *ātatuḥ* and *ātuh*.

अश्नोतिग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति, अश्नोतेरेव अवर्णोपधस्य नान्यस्य अवर्णोपधस्येति

The reading of *aśnōti* (in the *sūtra* *Aśnōtēs ca* 7—4—72) is to restrict its application that *nuṭ* occurs only to *aś* which has *a* as its penultimate and not to similar roots which have *a* as their penultimate.

लदेशे च ऋकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्—कृपो रो लः, ऋकारस्य च इति वक्तव्यम्—
इहापि यथा स्यात् क्लृप्तः क्लृप्तवान् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते र इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्
R should be after *sūtras* dealing with *lādēśa* thus—*Kṛpō rō lah*, *Ṛkārasya ca* so that *lādēśa* may take place here also—in *klpta* and *klptavān*. By him who holds the *grahanapakṣa*, it is achieved by the word *rah* itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः । ऋकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते

It is no harm even to him who holds *agrahanapakṣa*. The word *ṛkāra* also is read here.

कथम्? How?

अविभक्तिको निर्देशः, कृप उः रः ल इति

Reading without case-suffix thus—*kṛpa uḥ rah lah*.

अथवा उभयतः स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते—रश्रुतेर्लश्रुतिर्भवति इति

Or the genus is denoted in both—*r* becomes *l*¹

विनामे ऋकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ऋकाराच्च इति वक्तव्यम्—इहापि यथा स्याद् मातृणां पितृणाम् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते रषाभ्याम् इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

R should be read after the *sūtra* dealing with *ṇatva* thus—*रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे, ऋकाराच्च* so that *ṇatva* may occur even

1. *R* in *r* of *kṛp* becomes *l* found in *l* so that *klpta* is formed from *kṛp* and *r* becomes *l* so that *kalpita* is formed from *kṛp*.

here—in मातृणाम्, पितृणाम्. To him who holds the *grahana-pakṣa*, the object is achieved by the word रषाभ्याम्.

न सिध्यति, यत्तद्रेफात्परं भक्तेः. तेन व्यवहितत्वाच्च प्राप्नोति
No, it is not achieved since *n* (in *mātṛṇām* and *pitṛṇām*) is separated from *r* the former part of *r* by its latter part.

मा भूदेवम्, अङ्गव्यवाय इत्येव सिद्धम्
Let it not be so; it is achieved by अङ्कुप्वाङ्नुम् व्यवायेऽपि
न सिध्यति No, it is not.

वर्णैकदेशाः के वर्णग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते ?
Which *varṇāikadēśas* are taken like *varṇas* ?

ये व्यपवृक्ता अपि वर्णा भवन्ति
Those which exist as *varṇas* even outside them.

यच्चापि रेफात्परं भक्तेः, न तत्कचिदपि व्यपवृक्तं दृश्यते
That element which is after *r* in *r* is not found anywhere as a separate letter.

एवं तर्हि योगविभागः करिष्यते—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ततो व्यवाये
व्यवाये च रषाभ्यां नो णो भवतीति, ततः अङ्कुप्वाङ्नुम्भिः इति
If so, the *sūtra* is split thus—*Raṣābhyām nō ṇaḥ samānapadē* and then *Vyavāyē* (even when separated by others *n* becomes *ṇ* after *r* and *ṣ* in a single word)—and then *Aṅkupvāṅnumbhiḥ*.

इदमिदानीं किमर्थम् ? What is this for now ?

नियमार्थम् । एतैरेवाक्षरसमाम्नायिकैर्व्यवाये नान्यैरिति
For the sake of *niyama*, so that (it may take place) only when they are separated by only these letters of *varṇasamāmnāya* and none else.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवति
ऋकारात्रो णत्वमिति, यदयं क्षुब्धादिषु नृनमनशब्दं पठति
It is no harm even to him who holds the *agrahanapakṣa*.—The use of *Ācārya* suggests that *n* becomes *ṇ* after *r*, since he reads the word *Nṛnamana* in *kṣhubnādigaṇa*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, वृद्धयर्थमेतत्स्याद् नार्नमनिः—

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*. It is there for the sake of *vrddhi* in *Nārnamanih* :—

यत्तर्हि तृप्नोतिशब्दं पठति If so, he reads *trpnōti* ¹

यच्चापि नृनमनशब्दं पठति Or as he reads *Nrnamana*.

ननु चोक्तं वृद्धयर्थमेतत्स्यात् ?

Has it not been said that it is for the sake of *vrddhi* ?

बहिरङ्गा वृद्धिः, अन्तरङ्गं णत्वम्, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गम् अन्तरङ्गे

Vrddhi is *bahiraṅga* and *ṇatva* is *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* is *asiddha* when *antaraṅgakārya* is to be done.

अथवा उपरिष्टाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते—ऋतः—नो णो भवति, ततः—

छन्दस्यवग्रहात्—ऋत इत्येव

Or the *sūtra Chandasi ṛd avagrahāt* which comes later on is split into *Ṛtaḥ* and *chandasyavagrahāt*; the former is taken to mean *Ṛtō nō ṇō bhavati* and the word *Ṛtaḥ* is taken to follow in the succeeding *sūtra* also.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ

The *sūtra Plutāvāica idutāu* (is necessary).

एतच्च वक्तव्यम् । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते गुरोष्टेः इत्येव प्लुत्या तस्य सिद्धम्

The *sūtra Plutāvāica idutāu* has also to be read, For him who holds *grahaṇapakṣa*, its purpose is served by *Gurōṣṭēḥ*.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः, क्रियते न्यास एव ²

It is no harm even to him who holds *agrahaṇapakṣa*, since the *sūtra* itself is read (by the *Sūtrakāra*).

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनविधिः

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one consonant followed by the same.

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनाश्रयो विधिर्न सिध्यति—कुक्कुटः, पिप्पली, पित्तम् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते तस्य द्वौ ककारौ, द्वौ पकारौ, द्वौ तकारौ

1. *Trpnōti* is found only in *Pāthāntara*.

2. *Kriyatē ētan nyāsa ēva* is another reading.

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one consonant followed by the same will not take place, as in *kuklcuṭaḥ pippalī* and *pittam*. For him who holds the *grahanapakṣa* there are two *kakāra*'s, two *pakāra*'s and two *takāra*'s.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्यापि द्वौ ककारौ द्वौ पकारौ द्वौ तकारौ

Even for him who holds *agrahanapakṣa*, there are two *kakāra*'s two *pakāra*'s and two *takāra*'s.

कथम्? How?

मात्राकालोऽत्र गम्यते, न च मालिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

The time taken by *mātrās* is here taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *mātrā*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

यद्यपि तावदत्रैतच्छक्यते वक्तुं यत्रैतन्नास्ति अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति, इह तु कथं सय्यन्ता, सव्वत्सरः, यल्लोकम्, तल्लोकम्, इति यत्रैतत् अस्त्यण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति?

Even though it is possible to say so where the principle *Aṇ savarṇān grhṇāti* does not operate, how can it be here in *सय्यन्ता, सव्वत्सरः, यल्लोकम्, तल्लोकम्* where the same principle operates?

अत्रापि मात्राकालो गृह्यते, न च मात्रिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

Even here the time taken by *mātrās* is taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *mātrā*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

हयवर्षद्

Six topics are dealt with here. They are:—(1) Why is *ha* read in two *sūtras*? (2) Which is better—*hayavarat* or *harayavat*? (3) Since *ayōgavāhas* are not read in *pratyāhāra-sūtras*, where are they to be taken to have been read? (4) Do letters have meaning or not? (5) Why are not *anubandhas* in

pratyāhāra taken as *ac*? (6) Why should semi-vowels be mentioned in the *sūtra* *Aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayah*.

I

सर्वे वर्णाः सकृदुपदिष्टाः, अयं हकारो द्विरुपदिश्यते पूर्वश्चैव परश्च । यदि पुनः पूर्वं एवोपदिश्येत पर एव वा, कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

All letters are read once; this *hakāra* is read twice before¹ and after.² If it is read either before or after, what will be its consequence?

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अङ्ग्रहणेषु हग्रहणम्

Hakāra being read after, addition of *hakāra* in *sūtras* reading *aṭ*.

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अङ्ग्रहणेषु हग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, आतोऽटि नित्यम्, शच्छोऽटि, दीर्घादटि समानपादे, हकारे च इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् महौ हि सः

If *hakāra* is read after, *hakāra* has to be added wherever the *pratyāhāra aṭ* is mentioned. For instance in the *sūtras* आतोऽटि नित्यम्, शच्छोऽटि and दीर्घादटि समानपादे, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also—in महौ हि सः.

उत्वे च Also in *sūtras* dealing with *utva*,

उत्वे च हकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हशि च, हकारे च इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् पुरुषो हसति, ब्राह्मणो हसति

Hakāra has to be read also in *sūtras* dealing with *utva*. For instance in the *sūtra* हशि च after अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also—in पुरुषो हसति, ब्राह्मणो हसति.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वोपदेशः If so, let it be read before.

पूर्वोपदेशे कित्त्वक्सेडविधयो झलग्रहणानि च

It being read before, in conjunction of कित्त्व, क्स and इट् and झलग्रहण.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः, कित्त्वं विधेयम् — स्निहित्वा स्नेहित्वा सिस्निहिषति सिस्नेहिषति—रलो व्युपधाद्बलादेः इति कित्त्वं न प्राप्नोति । क्सविधिः, क्सश्च विधेयः—

1. In the *sūtra* *Hayavarat*.

2. In the *sūtra* *Hal*

अधुक्षत् अलिक्षत् — शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः इति क्सो न प्राप्नोति । इङ्विधिः, इट् च विधेयः — रुदिहि स्वपिहि — वलादिलक्षण इण् न प्राप्नोति । झल्यहणानि च । किम् ? । अहकाराणि स्युः । तत्र को दोषः ? झलो झलि इति इह न स्यात्, अदाग्धाम्, अदाग्धम्

If it is read before, *kittva* has to be enjoined in case like *snihitvā, snēhitvā, sisnihiṣati, sisnēhiṣati*, since they cannot be operated upon by the *sūtra Ralō vyupadhāddhalādēḥ*, (for *h* cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra ral*). *Ksa* has to be enjoined in cases like *adhukṣat, alikṣat* since they cannot be operated upon by *Śala igupadhādanīṭaḥ ksaḥ* (for *h* cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra śal*) *It* has to be enjoined in cases like *rudihī, svapihī* since they cannot be operated upon by *Rudādibhyaḥ sārva dhātukē* (for *h* cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra val*). *Sūtras* dealing with *jhal* also. Why? They will not include *h*. What is the harm there? The *sūtra Jhalō jhali* cannot operate in *adāgdhām, adāgdham*.

तस्मात् पूर्वैश्चैव उपदेष्टव्यः परश्च । यदि च किञ्चिद् अन्यत्राप्युपदेशे प्रयोजनमस्ति तत्राप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Therefore it has to be read both before and after. If there be any use of its being read elsewhere, there too should it be read.

II

इदं विचार्यते अयं रेफो यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वं एवोपदिश्येत हरयवट् इति, पर एव वा यथान्यासम् इति

This is to be discussed whether *rēpha* is to be read before *ya* and *va* as *Ha-ra-ya-vaṭ* or after them as it is in the *sūtra*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः What is the difference here ?

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णप्रतिषेधः

Rēpha being read after, prohibition of *anunāsika, dvirvacana* and *parasavarṇa*.

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अनुनासिकस्य—प्रातर्नयति स्वनयति, यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा इत्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति ।

द्विर्वचनस्य — मद्रहदः, भद्रहदः, यर इति द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति । परसवर्णस्य — कुण्डं रथेन, वनं रथेन, अनुस्वारस्य ययि . . . इति परसवर्णः प्राप्नोति

If *rēpha* is read after *y* and *v* (as it is in the *sūtra*), nasalisation, doubling and likening to the following letter should be prohibited. As regards nasalisation, in cases like *svarnayati*, *prātar-nayati*, the *sūtra* *Yarōsnunāsikēsnunāsikō vā* will operate. As regards doubling, in cases like *madrahradaḥ*, *bhadrahradaḥ* doubling will take place by the *sūtra* *Acō rahābhyām dvē* (since *rēpha* is included under the *pratyāhāra yar*.) As regards the likening to the following letter, in cases like *kuṇḍam rathēna*, *vanam rathēna*, the *sūtra* *Anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* will operate so that *parasavarṇa* will appear.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वोपदेशः If so, let it be read before them.

पूर्वोपदेशे कित्त्वप्रतिषेधो व्यलोपवचनं च

It being read before, prohibition of *kittva* and mention of *vyaalpā*.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः कित्त्वं प्रतिषेध्यं—देवित्वा, दिदेविषति—रलो व्युपधात् इति कित्त्वं प्राप्नोति

If it is read before, *kittva* has to be prohibited; otherwise *ktvā* and *san* will become optionally *kit* in *dēvitvā* and *didēviṣati* by the *sūtra* *Ralō vyupadhāt....* (since *v* will be included in the *pratyāhāra ral*.)

नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते रलो व्युपधात् इति

There will be no room for this flaw, since it is not understood thus—*Ralaḥ vyupadhāt....*

किं तर्हि ? How then ?

रलः अव्युपधात् इति Thus—*Ralaḥ avvyupadhāt*.

किमिदं अव्युपधात् इति ? What does *avvyupadhāt* mean here ?

अवकारान्ताद् व्युपधात् अव्युपधात् इति

After *vyupadha* which does not end in *v*.

व्यलोपवचनं च । व्योश्च लोपो वक्तव्यः । गौधेरः, पचेरन्, यजेरन्, जीवे-
रदानुः—जीरदानुः ; वलीति लोपो न प्राप्नोति इति

Mention of the elision of *y* and *v*. The elision of *y* and *v* should be mentioned, in the following cases *gāudhēraḥ*, *pacēran*, *yajēran*, *jīradānuḥ* (the suffix *radānuḥ* after *jīv* by *jīvēradānuḥ*) since *r* is not included in the *pratyāhāra val*.

नैष दोषः रेफोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते, लोपो व्योर्वलीति रेफे च वलि च इति
There is no room for this flaw. *Rēpha* also is mentioned here thus *Lōpō vyōr vali Rēphē ca vali ca*.¹

अथवा पुनरस्तु परोपदेशः Or let there be *parōpadēśa* itself.

ननु चोक्तं रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विवचनपरसवर्णप्रतिषेध इति ?

Has it not been said that, if there is *parōpadēśa*, prohibition of nasalisation, doubling and likening to the following letter should be made ?

अनुनासिकपरवर्णयोस्तावत् प्रतिषेधो न वक्तव्यः, रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति ।
द्विवचनेऽपि, नेमौ रहौ कार्यिणौ द्विवचनस्य । किं तर्हि ? निमित्तमिमौ रहौ
द्विवचनस्य ; तद्यथा—ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तां माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेष्टिष्टम् इति, नेदानीं
तौ भुञ्जाते

First there is no need for the prohibition of *anunāsika* and *parasavarṇa* since *rēpha* and fricatives have no like letters. Even in *dvirvacana*, *rēpha* and *hakāra* they are not the recipients of *dvirvacana*. What then ? They are *nimittu*'s of *dvirvacana*. It is analogous to this—when it is said that brahmins may be fed and *Māṭhara* and *Kāuṇḍīnyu* may serve, they do not dine then.

III

इदं विचार्यते—इमे अयोगवाहा ² न कचिदुपदिश्यन्ते श्रूयन्ते च, तेषां
कार्यार्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः

1. The defect in this case is that *r* has to be read which is not in the *sutra*.

2. It is interesting to note that Kannaḍa grammarians began to use the term *gōyavāha* in place of *ayōgavāha*; this is perhaps due to false etymology that those letters are found only in the company of others or metanalysis.

Cf. *Jihvāmūliyōpadhīmānīyabinduvisargaṅgaḷam vyañjanasamjñēyalli yōgavāhaṅgaḷendu pēḷvar* (Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa 1,22 commentary)

This is discussed that these *ayōgavāha*'s are read nowhere but heard (in words) and they have to be read to be operated upon by the *sūtras*.

के पुनरयोगवाहाः ? What are *ayōgavāha*'s ?

विसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलोपधमानीयानुस्वारयमाः

They are *visarga*, *jihvāmūlīya*, *upadhamānīya*, *anusvāra* and *yama*.

कथं पुनरयोगवाहाः ? How are they called *ayōgavāha*'s

यदयुक्ता वहन्ति, अनुपदिष्टाश्च श्रूयन्ते

Since they, being heard without being read, are operated upon without being included in any *pratyāhāra*.

क पुनरेषामुपदेशः कर्तव्यः ? Where are these to be read ?

अयोगवाहानामट्सु णत्वम्

Reading of *ayōgavāha*'s among *aṭ* for the sake of *ṇatva*.

अयोगवाहानामट्सु उपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? णत्वम्—उरःकेण उरःकेण, उरःपेण उरःपेण, अङ्व्यवाये इति णत्वं सिद्धं भवति

Reading of अयोगवाहs among the letters included in *pratyāhāra* अट् is necessary. What is the use ? णत्व, as in उरःकेण, उरःकेण उरःपेण and उरःपेण । णत्व can be accomplished since there is अङ्व्यवाय.

शर्षु जश्भावषत्वे

Their reading among *śar* for the sake of *jaśtva* and *ṣatva*.

शर्षूपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? जश्भावषत्वे । अयमुब्जिरुपधमानीयोपधः पठ्यते ; तस्य जश्त्वे कृते उब्जिता उब्जितुम् इत्येतद्रूपं यथा स्यात्

They have to be read among *śar*. What is the use ? For the sake of *jaśtva* and *ṣatva*. This root *ubj* is read with *upadhmānīya* for its penultimate. If it takes *jaśtva*, the forms *ūbjitā* and *ubjitūm* may be secured.

यद्युब्जिरुपधमानीयोपधः पठ्यते उब्जिजिषति इति उपधमानीयाद्रेरेव द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति, दकारोपधे पुनः नन्द्राः संयोगादयः इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

If the root *ubj* is read with *upadhamānīya* for its penultimate, the doubling of that commencing with *upadhmānīya* (i. e.) *bji* in *ubjijīṣati* takes place. If, on the other hand, the

penultimate is *dakāra*, prohibition of its doubling takes place by the *sūtra Nandrāḥ saṁyōgādayaḥ*.

यदि दकारोपधः पठ्यते का रूपसिद्धिः, उब्जिता, उब्जितुम् इति ?

If it is read with *dakāra* for its penultimate, how are the forms *ubjtā* and *ubjitum* to be secured ?

असिद्धे भ उद्जे: - इदमस्ति स्तो: श्चुना श्चुः इति, ततो वक्ष्यामि भ उद्जे:
उद्जे: श्चुना सन्निपाते भो भवतीति

In the *asiddhaprakaraṇa* the reading of *Bha udjēḥ*. Here is the *sūtra Stōḥ ścunā ścuḥ*; then shall I read *Bha udjēḥ* so that *d* of *udj* will become *bh* when it is followed by *ś* and *cavarga*.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् Then it is to be read.

न वक्तव्यम्, निपातनादेव सिद्धम्

No, it need not be read since it is accomplished by *nipātana*.

किं निपातनम् ? Which is *nipātana* ?

भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः इति

The *nipātana* is *bhujanyubjāu pānyupatāpayōḥ*.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अभ्युद्गः समुद्गः इति

Even here in *abhyudgaḥ* and *samudgaḥ* will it appear.

अकुत्वविषये तन्निपातनम् । अथ वा नैतदुब्जे रूपं, गमेरेतत् द्व्युपसर्गाद्धो विधीयते, अभ्युद्गतः अभ्युद्गः, समुद्गतः समुद्ग इति

The *nipātana* is where there is no *kutva*. Or this is not derived from the root *ubj* but from the root *gam* preceded by two prepositions and followed by *ḍaḥ*. *Abhyudgataḥ* becomes *abhyudgaḥ* and *samudgataḥ* becomes *somudgaḥ*.

षत्वं च प्रयोजनम्—सर्पिःषु, धनुःषु,—शर्व्यवाय इति षत्वं सिद्धं भवति,
नुम्बिसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि इति विसर्जनीयग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति
Ṣatva is the benefit as in *sarpiḥṣu* and *dhanuḥṣu*. It is achieved since there is *śarvyavāya*. So the word *visarjanīya* in *num-
visarjanīya-śarvyavāyāpi* is unnecessary.

नुमश्चापि तर्हि ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्

In that case even the word *num* is unnecessary.

कथं सर्पिषि, धनूंषि ?

How are the forms *sarpīmṣi* and *dhanūmṣi* to be got ?

अनुस्वारे कृते गर्व्यवाय इत्येव सिद्धम्

After the *anusvāra* is brought in, *ṣatva* is accomplished by *śarvyavāya*.

अवश्यं नुमो ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अनुस्वारविशेषणं नुमग्रहणम्, नुमो योऽनुस्वारः
तत्र यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत् - पुंसु इति

Reading of *num* is necessary. It is taken as the *viśēṣana* of *anusvāra* so that *ṣatva* may take place where *anusvāra* has replaced *num* and may not take place in *pūmsu*.

अथ वा अविशेषणोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Or they have to be read wherever necessary.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the use ?

अविशेषण संयोगोपधासंज्ञालोऽन्त्यद्विर्वचनस्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधाः

Reading wherever necessary for the *saṁjñā*'s, *saṁyōga* and *upadhā*, for the operation of *Alōntyavidhi* and *Dvirvacanavidhi* and for the prohibition of *sthānivadbhāva*.

अविशेषण संयोगसंज्ञा प्रयोजनम्—उ३ब्जक-हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः इति संयोगसंज्ञा, संयोगे गुरु इति गुरुसंज्ञा, गुरोः ... इति प्लुतो भवति । उपधासंज्ञा च प्रयोजनम्—दुष्कृतम्, निष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, निष्पीतम्, इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य इति षत्वं सिद्धं भवति

By reading it wherever necessary, *saṁyōgasamjñā* is one *prayōjana*. In *u३bjaka*, the letter *u* is *pluta*; *saṁyōgasamjñā guru-samjñā* are got by the operation of the *sūtras Halōsnantarāḥ saṁyōgaḥ* and *saṁyōgē guru* and it becomes *pluta* after being operated upon by the *sūtra Gurōḥ*.....*upadhāsamjñā* also is another *prayōjana*. The *ṣatva* is achieved in *duṣkṛtam*, *niṣkṛtam*, *duṣpītam* and *niṣpītam* by the operation of the *sūtra Idudupadhasya cāpratyayasya*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्; न इदुदुपधग्रहणेन विसर्जनीयो विशेष्यते

This is not a *prayōjana*, for the penultimate *i* and *u* do not qualify the *visarga*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

सकारो विशेष्यते, इदुदुपधस्य यो विसर्जनीय इति

Sakāra is qualified thus—the *visarga* which has replaced *sakāra* in the word having for the penultimate *it* and *ut*.

अथ वा उपधाग्रहणं न करिष्यते । इदुञ्च्यां तु परं विसर्जनीयं विशेषयिष्यामः
इदुञ्च्यामुत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य इति

Or *upadhā* is not read there. We shall qualify the *visarga* as followed by it, and *ut* thus—*Idubhyām uttarasya visarjanīyasyo*.

अलोऽन्त्यविधिश्च प्रयोजनम्—वृक्षस्तरति, प्लक्षस्तरति,—अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्तीति अलोऽन्त्यस्य सत्त्वं सिद्धं भवति

The operation of *Alōṣntyavidhi* also is a *prayōjana*. In the examples *vrkṣas tarati plakṣas tarati*, *sakāra* takes the place of *visarga* by taking recourse to the rule *Alōṣntyasya vidhayō bhavanti*.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति इति विसर्जनीय-
स्यैव भविष्यति

This too is not a *prayōjana*. Since *ādēśas* replace only what is mentioned ; *sakāra* replaces only the *visarga*.

द्विर्वचनं प्रयोजनम्—उरःकः, उरःपः—अनचि च अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे
भवतः इति द्विर्वचनं सिद्धं भवति

Doubling is another benefit. In the examples *uraḥkaḥ* and *uraḥpaḥ* doubling is achieved by the operation of the *sūtra Anaci ca* which means that *ya* following a vowel is doubled.

स्थानिवद्धावप्रतिषेधश्च प्रयोजनम्, यथेह भवति उरःकेण, उरःपेण, इति अङ्-
व्यवाय इति णत्वम् एवमिहापि स्थानिवद्धावात्प्राप्नोति, व्यूढोरस्केन महोरस्केन इति ;
तत्र अनल्विधौ इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

Sthānivadbhāvapratiṣēdha also is a *prayōjana*; just as *ṇatva* may come by *aḍvyavāya* in *uraḥkēṇa* and *uraḥpēṇa*, so also the *ṇatva* may come by *sthānivadbhāra* in *vyūḍhōraskēna* and *mahōraskēna* and it is prevented by *analvidhāu*.

IV

किं पुनरिमे वर्णा अर्थवन्तः, आहोस्विद् अनर्थकाः ?

Do these letters have meaning or no ?¹

अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानाम् एकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात्

1. Cf. Vol. IV pp. 92, 93.

Letters have meaning, since there is meaning in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas*.

अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः । कुतः ? धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात् । धातव एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो दृश्यन्ते—एति,¹ अध्येति,² अधीते³ इति । प्रातिपदिकान्येकवर्णान्यर्थवन्ति—आभ्याम्, एभिः, एषु । प्रत्यया एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः—औपगवः, कापटवः । निपाता एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः—अ अपेहि, इ इन्द्रं पश्य, उ उत्तिष्ठ, अ अपक्राम । धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति

Letters have meaning. Why ? Since meaning is found in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas*. One-lettered roots having meaning are found, as in *Ēti*, *adhyēti*, *adhīte*. One-lettered stems having meaning are found, as in *Ābhyām*, *ēbhiḥ*, *ēṣu*. One-lettered affixes having meaning are found, as in *Āupagavaḥ*, *kāpaṭavaḥ*. One-lettered *nipātas* having meaning are found, as in *A apēhi*, *i Indram paśya*, *u uttiṣṭha*, *a apakrāma*. We think that letters have meaning, since one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas* are found to have meaning.

वर्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनात्

On account of change in meaning by the change in letters.

वर्णव्यत्यये च अर्थान्तरगमनान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति—कूपः सूपो यूप इति—कूप इति सककारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, सूप इति ककारापाये सकरोपजने चार्थान्तरं गम्यते, यूप इति ककारसकारापाये यकारोपजनेऽर्थान्तरं गम्यते । तेन मन्यामहे यः कूपे कूपार्थः स ककारस्य⁴, यः सूपे सूपार्थः स सकारस्य, यो यूपे यूपार्थः स यकारस्य इति

We think that letters have meaning, since meaning changes in words, if one letter is replaced by another, as in *Kūpaḥ*, *sūpaḥ*, *yūpaḥ*. The word *kūpaḥ* is seen to have one meaning when it is with *kaḥāra*; another meaning is seen in the word *sūpaḥ* where *k* is removed and *s* is read in its stead; and another

1. Root इण्. 2. Root इक्. 3. Root इङ्.

4. अन्येषां ग्रन्थाः सककारस्येति; त एवमाहुः सह ककारेण अर्थवत्ता इति (*Pradīpikā*).

meaning is seen in the word *yūpaḥ* where both *k* and *s* are removed and *y* is read instead. Therefore we think that the meaning of the word *kūpa* is in its *kakāra*, that of *sūpa* is in its *sakāra* and that of *yūpa* is in its *yakāra*.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेः

On account of the absence of that meaning in the absence of a letter.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेर्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति—वृक्षः ऋक्षः, काण्डीरः आण्डीरः—वृक्ष इति सवकारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, ऋक्ष इति वकारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते । काण्डीर इति सककारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, आण्डीर इति ककारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते

We think that letters have meaning since, in the absence of one letter, that meaning is not found, as in *Vṛkṣaḥ*, *ṛkṣaḥ* and *kāṇḍīraḥ*, *āṇḍīraḥ*. The word *vṛkṣa* is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter *v* and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word *ṛkṣaḥ*. The word *kāṇḍīraḥ* is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter *k* and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word *āṇḍīraḥ*.

किं तर्ह्युच्यते अनर्थगतेः इति, न साधीयो ह्यत्रार्थस्य गतिर्भवति ?

Why is it said *anarthagatēḥ* ? Is not its meaning well understood here ?

एवं तर्हि इदं पठितव्यं स्याद् वर्णानुपलब्धौ चातदर्थगतेः इति

If so, it should be read *varṇānupalabdhāu cātadarthagatēḥ*.

किमिदम् अतदर्थगतेरिति ? What is meant by *a-tad-artha-gatēḥ* ?

तस्यार्थः तदर्थः, तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः, न तदर्थगतिः अतदर्थगतिः, अतदर्थगतेरिति । अथवा सोऽर्थः तदर्थः, तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः, न तदर्थगतिः अतदर्थगतिः, अतदर्थगतेरिति

The word *a-tad-artha-gatēḥ* is taken to be the ablative case of *a-tad-artha-gatiḥ* which is the compound of *na* and *tad-artha-gatiḥ*. *Tad-arthu-gatiḥ* is taken to be the *tatpuruṣa* compound of *tad-artha* and *gatiḥ*, where *tad-artha* is the compound of *tasya* and *arthah*. Or *a-tad-arthagatēḥ* is taken to be the ablative case of

a-tad-artha-gatiḥ which is the compound of *na* and *tad-artha-gatiḥ*. *Tad-artha-gatiḥ* is taken to be the *tatpuruṣa* compound of *tad-artha* and *gatiḥ*, where *tad-artha* is the compound of *sah* and *arthah*.

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः Then it should be so read.

न कर्तव्यः; उत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः—तद्यथा उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखम् अस्य उष्ट्रमुखः, खरमुखः । एवम् अतदर्थगतेः अनर्थगतेः इति

No, it need not be so read. It is to be construed here that the following word has been dropped. Just as in the word *uṣṭramukhaḥ* whose *vigraha-vākya* is *uṣṭramukham iva mukham asya* the word *mukham* after *uṣṭra* is dropped and also in *kharamukhaḥ*, so also in the word *anarthagatēḥ* the word *tad* after *a* is dropped ¹.

संघातार्थवत्त्वाच्च

On account of the collection having meaning.

संघातार्थवत्त्वाच्च मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति, येषां संघाता अर्थवन्तः अवयवा अपि तेषाम् अर्थवन्तः । येषां ह्यवयवा अर्थवन्तः समुदाया अपि तेषां अर्थवन्तः—तद्यथा, एकश्चक्षुष्मान् दर्शने समर्थः तत्समुदायश्च शतमपि समर्थम्; एकश्च तिलस्तैलदाने समर्थः तत्समुदायश्च खार्यपि तैलदाने समर्था; येषां पुनरवयवा अनर्थकाः समुदाया अपि तेषामनर्थकाः—तद्यथा, एकोऽन्धो दर्शने असमर्थः तत्समुदायश्च शतमप्यसमर्थम्, एका च सिकता तैलदाने असमर्था तत्समुदायश्च खारीशतमप्यसमर्थम्

We think that letters have meaning, since their collection has meaning. If the collections of letters have meaning, their parts too, have meaning. If the parts have meaning, their wholes also have meaning. If one man with eyes is able to see, a collection of hundred such men is able to see. If one gingelly seed is capable of giving oil, 64 *marakkal* of gingelly seed is capable of giving oil. If the parts have no meaning, their wholes also cannot have meaning. If one blind man is not able to see, a collection of hundred such men cannot see; if one particle of sand cannot give oil, hundred *khārī* of the same cannot give oil.

1. *N* between *a* and *arthagatēḥ* should be taken as intervocalic,

यदि तर्हि इमे वर्णा अर्थवन्तः अर्थवत्कृतानि प्राप्नुवन्ति ¹

If, then, these letters have meaning, they will be operated upon by the rules which operate on those that have meaning.

कानि ? What are they ?

अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकम् इति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा, प्रातिपदिकाद् इति स्वाद्युत्पत्तिः
सुबन्तं पदम् इति पदसंज्ञा

They will get the designation *prātipadikam* by *arthavatprātipadikam*, will receive the case-suffixes after them by *prātipadikāt*...and will get the designation *padam* by *subantam pudam*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm there ?

पदस्य इति नलोपादीनि प्राप्नुवन्ति धनं वनम् इति

The elision of *na* and others will take place in the words *dhanam* and *vanam* by the operation of *padasya*.

संघातस्यैकार्थ्यात् सुबभावो वर्णात्

Collection having one meaning, absence of case-suffixes after letters.

संघातस्य एकत्वमर्थः, तेन वर्णात्सुबुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति

Since the collection has one meaning, case-suffixes will not come after each letter.

अनर्थकास्तु प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः

Letters, on the other hand, have no meaning since meaning is not had for every letter.

अनर्थकास्तु वर्णाः । कुतः ? प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः । न हि प्रतिवर्णमर्थ उपलभ्यन्ते । किमिदं प्रतिवर्णमिति ? वर्णं वर्णं प्रति प्रतिवर्णम्

Letters have no meaning. Why ? Since meaning is not found for every letter. Meanings are not got for every letter. How is *prativarṇam* derived ? *Prativarṇam* is derived thus—*varṇam varṇam prati*.

वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारेष्वर्थदर्शनात्

Since the same meaning is present though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters.

1. एतदुक्तं भवति—प्रयोगे अर्थवत्तायां सत्यां न दोषोऽस्ति, शास्त्रेषु किञ्चिद्विनश्यति (*Pradīpikā*).

वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारेष्वर्थदर्शनान्मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति । वर्ण-
व्यत्यये — कृतेस्तर्कः, कसेः सिकता, हिंसेः सिंहः; वर्णव्यत्ययः नार्थव्यत्ययः । अपायो
लोपः — हतः, भ्रन्ति, भ्रन्तु, अभ्रन्; वर्णापायो नार्थापायः । उपजन आगमः — लविता
लवितुम्; वर्णोपजनः नार्थोपजनः । विकार आदेशः — घातयति, घातकः; वर्णविकारो
नार्थविकारः । यथैव वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारा भवन्ति, तद्वत् अर्थव्यत्ययापायोपजन-
विकारैर्भवितव्यम्; न चेह तद्वत् । अतो मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति

We think that letters have no meaning since the same mean-
ing is found though there is metathesis, elision, augment or
substitution of letters. In metathesis — *tarkaḥ* from *kṛt*,
sikatā from *kas* and *siṃhaḥ* from *hiṃs* there is metathesis
only of letters but no change in meaning. *Apāya* means
elision. *Ex. hataḥ, ghnanti, ghnantu, aghnan.* Here is elision
of letters and not of meaning. *Upajana* means augment. *Ex.*
lavitā, lavitum. Here is only augment of letters and not of
meaning. *Vikāra* means *ādēśa*. *Ex. ghātayati, ghātaḥ.* Here
is only substitution of letters and not of meaning. As there
is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters, so
should there be change, elision, augment or substitution in
meaning. It is not so here. Hence we think that letters
have no meaning.

उभयमिदं वर्णेषूक्तम् अर्थवन्तोऽनर्थका इति च । किमत्र न्याय्यम् ?
Both have been said with regard to letters that they have
meaning and that they have not. Which is right here ?

उभयमित्याह Both, says he.

कुतः ? How ?

स्वभावतः । तद्यथा — समानमीहमानानां चाधीयानानां केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते अपरे न;
न चेदानीं कश्चिदर्थवानिति कृत्वा सर्वैरर्थवाद्भिः शक्यं भवितुम्, कश्चिद्वा अनर्थक इति
कृत्वा सर्वैरनर्थकैः

By nature. For instance, of those persons who study equally
with the one hope (of getting money), some get it and others
do not.¹ Because one gets money, it is not necessary that

1. This sentence is interpreted also thus:—Of those who equally
strive after (wealth), some get it and others do not; of those who equally
study, some get the desired object and others do not.

all have got money and because one has not got money, it is not necessary that all have not got money.

तत्र किमस्माभिः शक्यं कर्तुम्? If so, what are we to do here?

यद्वातुप्रत्ययप्रातिपदिकनिपाता एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो अतोऽन्येऽनर्थका इति ।
स्वाभाविकमेतत्

Such single letters as stand as roots, affixes, stems and *nipātas* have meaning and the rest have no meaning. This is quite natural.

कथं य एष भवता वर्णानामर्थवत्तायां हेतुरुपदिष्टः—अर्थवन्तो वर्णा धातु-
प्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनाद्वर्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनाद्वर्णानुपलब्धौ
चानर्थगतेः सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च इति? सङ्घातान्तराण्येवैतान्येवंजातीयकानि अर्थान्तरेषु
वर्तन्ते, कूपः सूपो यूप इति । यदि हि वर्णव्यत्ययकृतमर्थान्तरगमनं स्याद् भूयिष्ठः
कूपार्थः सूपे स्यात्, सूपार्थश्च कूपे, कूपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च कूपे, सूपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च
सूपे; यतस्तु खलु न¹ किञ्चित् कूपस्य वा सूपे, सूपस्य वा कूपे, कूपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा
कूपे, सूपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा सूपे, अतो मन्यामहे सङ्घातान्तराण्येवैतान्येवंजातीय-
कानि अर्थान्तरेषु वर्तन्ते इति; इदं खल्वपि भवता वर्णानामर्थवत्तां ब्रुवता साधीयोऽन-
र्थकत्वं द्योतितं—यो हि मन्यते यः कूपे कूपार्थः स ककारस्य, यः सूपे सूपार्थः स
सकारस्य, यो यूपे यूपार्थः स यकारस्येति, ऊपशब्दस्त्वस्यानर्थकः स्यात्

What about the reasons enunciated by you to comprehend that letters have meaning—*Arthavantō varṇāḥ Saṅghātārthavattvāc ca?* The words of the type *kūpaḥ*, *sūpaḥ* and *yūpaḥ* are different letter-groups having different meanings. If the change in their meaning is due only to the change of a single letter, the major portion of the meaning of *kūpa* should lie in *sūpa*, that of *sūpa* in *kūpa*, that of *kūpa* in *yūpa*, that of *yūpa* in *kūpa*, that of *sūpa* in *yūpa* and that of *yūpa* in *sūpa*. Since there is nothing of the meaning of *kūpa* in *sūpa*, that of *sūpa* in *kūpa*, that of *kūpa* in *yūpa*, that of *yūpa* in *kūpa*, that of *sūpa* in *yūpa* and that of *yūpa* in *sūpa*, we think that these are different groups having different meanings. Even this has been very well suggested by you that letters have no

1. कश्चित् is another reading.

meaning while proving that letters have meaning. He who thinks that the meaning of *kūpa* is in *kakāra*, that of *sūpa* is in *sakāra*, and that of *yūpa* is in *yakāra*, has to decide that *ūpa* has no meaning.

तत्रेदमपरिहृतं सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्चेति

There this —*Sanghātārthavattvāc ca*—has been left unanswered.

एतस्यापि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां परिहारं वक्ष्यति

He shall answer this point too while dealing with *prātīpadiku-samjñā* ¹.

V

अइउण्, कलक्, एओङ्, ऐऔच्

प्रत्याहारेऽनुबन्धानां कथमजग्रहणेषु ² न

Why is the non-inclusion of *anubandhas* in the *pratyāhāra ac*?

य एते अक्षु प्रत्याहारार्था अनुबन्धाः क्रियन्ते एतेषामजग्रहणेन ग्रहणं कस्माच्च भवति ?

Why are not *anubandhas* (*ṇ*, *k*, *ṇ* and *c*) which are read in the *sūtras* *Aiṇ*, *Ṛlk*, *Eōṇ*, and *Āiāuc* to form *pratyāhāras* included under *ac*?

किं च स्यात् ? What if they are included ?

दधि णकारीयति, मधु णकारीयति, इति इको यणाचि इति यणादेशः प्रसज्येत *I* and *u* of *dadhi* and *madhu* in *dadhi ṇakārīyati* and *madhu ṇakārīyati* will respectively be replaced by *y* and *v* on the strength of the *sūtra* *Ikō yaṇ aci*.

आचारात् By *ācāra*.

किमिदमाचारात् ? What is here meant by *ācārāt* ?

आचार्याणामुपचारान् । नैतेष्वआचार्या अच्चार्याणि कृतवन्तः

By the application of *Ācārya*.³ *Ācārya* has not treated them as *ac*.

1. The answer is this :—दृष्टो ह्यतदर्थेन गुणेन गुणिनोऽर्थभावः सुराङ्गवत् रथाङ्गवच्च. It is seen that wholes have meaning unconnected with that of the parts, as wine and chariot are unconnected with the quality of their parts.

2. *Akṣu* is another reading. It means अच्प्रत्याहारबोधकसूत्रेषु.

3. The *Ācārya* here referred to is the author of the *sūtra* *Tṛṣimṛṣikṛṣṇh Kāśyapasya*.

अप्रधानत्वात् On account of their secondary nature.

अप्रधानत्वाच्च न खल्वप्येतेषां अक्षु प्राधान्येनोपदेशः क्रियते

Since they are secondary here, they are not read in these four *sūtras* primarily.

क तर्हि? Where then are they read primarily?

हल्षु

In the *sūtras* which enable us to form the *pratyāhāra hal*.

कुत एतत्? How is it so understood?

एषा ह्याचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते, यत्तुल्यजातीयास्तुल्यजातीयेषु उपदिशति,
अचोऽक्षु, हलो हल्षु

This is the procedure of *Ācārya* that he reads the letters of the same family together, the vowels in the *sūtras* forming the *pratyāhāra ac* and consonants in those forming the *pratyāhāra hal*.

लोपश्च बलवत्तरः The elision is stronger.

लोपः खल्वपि तावद्भवति

The elision (by the *sūtra Tasya lōpaḥ*) takes place before (the formation of *pratyāhāra* by the *sūtra Ādirantyēna sahētā*).

ऊकालोऽजिति वा योगस्तत्कालानां यथा भवेत् ।

अचां ग्रहणमच्कार्यं तेनैषां न भविष्यति ॥

The *sūtra* is split as *Ūkālōsc*, so that the designation *ac* may come only to such sounds as have their quantity and so that it may not come to these.

अथवा योगविभागः करिष्यते, ऊकालोऽच् – उ ऊ उ३ इत्येवंकालोऽज्भवति –
ततः ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः — ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञश्च भवति ऊकालोऽच्

Or the *sūtra* is split thus *Ūkālōsc*, meaning that *ac* is that which has the quantity *u*, *ū*, *uṣ* and then *Hrasva-dīrgha-plutaḥ* meaning that *ac* having *ūkāla* gets the designation of *hrasva*, *dīrgha* or *pluta*.

एवमपि कुक्कुट इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

Even then the designation *ac* will come to *kk* of *kukkuṭa*.

तस्मात् पूर्वोक्त एव परिहारः

Hence the answer is what has already been given.¹

एष एवार्थः The same is the conclusion.

अपर आह ² Another says.

ह्रस्वादीनां वचनात् प्राग्यावत्तावदेव योगोऽस्तु ।

अच्कार्याणि यथा स्युस्तत्कालेष्वक्षु कार्याणि ॥

Let the *sūtra* be as it is before—*Hrasva-dīrgha-plutaḥ*—so that the rules dealing with *ac* may operate upon such *ac* as have that quantity.

VI

अथ किमर्थम् अन्तःस्थानामणसूपदेशः क्रियते ³ ?

Now why are the semi-vowels so read as to be operated upon by the *sūtra* *Āi-udit-savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*.

इह सय्ययन्ता सव्ववत्सरः यल्लल्लोकम् तल्लल्लोकम् इति परसवर्णस्यासिद्धत्वात् अनुस्वारस्यैव द्विवचनम् । तत्र परस्य परसवर्णे कृते तस्य यग्रहणेन ग्रहणात् पूर्वस्यापि परसवर्णो यथा स्यात्

Since, in the examples सय्ययन्ता सव्ववत्सरः, यल्लल्लोकम्, तल्लल्लोकम्, परसवर्ण (by the *sūtra* अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः) is *asiddha*, the doubling will be to the *anusvāra* alone. When the second is made परसवर्ण there, the first too may be made परसवर्ण taking the second to be यय्.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । वक्ष्यत्येतत् —द्विवचने परसवर्णत्वं सिद्धं वक्तव्यम्—इति । यावता सिद्धत्वमुच्यते परसवर्ण एव तावद्भवति

No, this is not the benefit. He reads later on that *para-savarṇatvam* in the case of *dvirvacana* is to be considered *siddha*. Since it is stated *siddha*, *parasavarṇatva* first takes place.

परसवर्णे तर्हि कृते तस्य यग्रहणेन ग्रहणाद्विवचनं यथा स्यात्

1. At the end of *Āiāuc bhāṣya*.

2. This shows that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* commented upon *vārttikas* of different authors, some of which were in *śloka* form.

3. Cf. किमर्थमणुदित्सवर्णस्य इति णकारेण प्रत्याहारः क्रियते. यत्र अन्तस्था अप्यन्तर्भाव्यन्ते, न पुनश्चकारेण प्रत्याहारः क्रियते (*Pradīpikā*).

अणुदित्सवर्णस्येति कस्मान्न कृतमिति प्रश्नः (*Kāiṣa*).

अणः सुष्टूपदेशः ... अणसु उपदेश इति तु नार्थः (*Nāgēśa*).

If then *parasavarṇatva* is made, doubling will take place since it may be considered *yar*.

मा भूद् द्विर्वचनम् Let there be no doubling.

ननु च भेदो भवति, सति द्विर्वचने त्रियकारकम्, असति द्विर्वचने द्वियकारकम्
Oh, difference will there be! When there is doubling, there will be three *yakāras* and when there is no doubling, there will be only two *yakāras*.

नास्ति भेदः ; सत्यपि द्विर्वचने द्वियकारकमेव

No, there is no difference, since, even when there is doubling, there are only two *yakāra's*.

कथम्? How?

हलो यमां यमि लोपः इत्येवमेकस्य लोपेन भवितव्यम्

One should be dropped on the operation of the *sūtra Halō yamām yami lōpah.*

एवमपि भेदः ; सति द्विर्वचने कदाचिद् द्वियकारकं, कदाचित् त्रियकारकम् ;
असति द्वियकारकमेव

Even then there will be difference. When there is doubling, there will be sometimes three *yakāras* and sometimes two. If there is no doubling, there will be only two *yakāras*.

स एष कथं भेदो न स्यात्?

When will there be no such difference?

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात् ; विभाषा च स लोपः

(It will be so) if the elision is *nitya* ; but it is *vibhāṣā*.

यथाऽभेदस्तथास्तु

Let it be taken in that way wherein there will be no difference.

अनुवर्तते विभाषा शरोऽचि यद्वायत्ययं द्वित्वम्

Vibhāṣā follows since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra ŚarōSci*.

यदयं शरोऽचि इति द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तत् ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽनुवर्तते
विभाषा इति

Since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra ŚarōSci*, *Ācārya* suggests that *vibhāṣā* follows.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

On which interpretation will it serve as *jñāpaka* ?

नित्ये हि तस्य लोपे प्रतिषेधार्थो न कश्चित् स्यात्

If the *lōpa* is *nitya*, the prohibition will be of no use.

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात् प्रतिषेधवचनमनर्थकं स्यात् । अस्त्वत्र द्विवचनं, झरो झरि सवर्णे इति लोपो भविष्यति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः विभाषा स लोप इति ; ततो द्विवचनप्रतिषेधं शास्ति

If the elision is *nitya*, the *sūtra* enjoining prohibition will be of no use. Let there be doubling. Elision takes place by the *sūtra Jharō jhari savarṇē*. *Ācārya* sees that the elision is optional and so reads the *sūtra* prohibiting doubling.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । नित्येऽपि तस्य लोपे स प्रतिषेधोऽवश्यं वक्तव्यः, यदेतद् अचो रहाभ्यां इति द्विवचनं लोपापवादः स विज्ञायते

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*; for the *sūtra* of prohibition need be read even when the elision is *nitya*, since the doubling enjoined by the *sūtra Acō rahābhyām* is considered to be the *apavāda* to the *lōpa*.

कथम् ? How ?

यः इत्युच्यते, एतावन्तश्च यः यदुत झरो वा यमो वा । यदि चात्र लोपः स्याद् द्विवचनमनर्थकं स्यात्

Yarah is read ; both *jharah* and *yamah* are *arah*. If there is elision here, doubling will be of no use.

किं तर्हि तयोर्योगयोरुदाहरणम् ?

What, then, are the examples for those two *sūtras* ?

यदकृते द्विवचने त्रिव्यञ्जनः संयोगः — प्रत्तम् अवत्तम् आदित्यः । इहेदानीं कर्ता हर्ता इति द्विवचनसामर्थ्यालोपो न भवति । एवमिहापि लोपो न स्यात् — कर्षति वर्षति इति । तस्मान्नित्येऽपि लोपे अवश्यं स प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Where, in the absence of doubling, there are three contiguous consonants *viz. prattam, avattam, ādityaḥ*. Here now in the examples *kartā* and *hartā*, there is no elision on the strength of the enjoining of doubling. So also here in the examples *karṣati* and *varṣati*, there is no elision. Hence even when the elision is *nitya*, that prohibition should needs be read.

तदेतदत्यन्तं सन्दिग्धं वर्तते आचार्याणां विभाषा अनुवर्तते न वेति
Hence it is extremely doubtful whether there is *anuvṛtti* for
the *vibhāṣā* of *Ācārya* or not.

लण्

अयं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते पूर्वश्चैव परश्च । तत्र अणग्रहणेषु इणग्रहणेषु च
सन्देहो भवति, पूर्वेण वा स्युः परेण वा इति

This *ṇakāra* is read at the end of two *pratyāhāra sūtras* one
before and the other after. There-in the *sūtras* having *aṇ*
and *iṇ*-arises the doubt whether the *pratyāhāra* is with the
former *ṇ* or with the latter *ṇ*.

कतमस्मिन्तावदणग्रहणे सन्देहः ?

In which *sūtra* having *aṇ* does the doubt arise ?

द्वलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः इति

In the *sūtra* द्वलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is beyond doubt that it is with the former and not with the
latter.

कुत एतत् ? How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् On account of the absence of those with the latter *ṇ*.

न हि द्वलोपे परेऽणः सन्ति

When there is *ḍhralōpa*, there are no letters which are included
in the *pratyāhāra aṇ* with the latter *ṇ*.

ननु चायमस्ति आवृद्ध आवृद्ध इति ! Oh there is *āvr̥ḍhaḥ*, *āvṛḍhaḥ* !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यात्, अणग्रहणमनर्थकं
स्यात्, द्वलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽचः इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात्, अचो
ह्येतद्भवति ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति

If so, by *sāmārya* it is with the former and not with the
latter. Had it been with the latter, the reading of *aṇ* would
have been of no use, since he would have read *Ḍhralōpē*
pūrvasya dīrghōscaḥ. Or he would not at all have read *acaḥ*,
since *hrasvatva*, *dīrghatva* and *plutatva* relate only to *ac*.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अणग्रहणे सन्देहः केऽणः इति

If so, there is doubt in the *sūtra Kēsṇaḥ* where *aṇ* is found.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, that it is with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ? How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि के परे अणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter *n*. For there are no letters included in the *pratyāhāra aṇ* with the latter *n* before the *pratyaya 'ka.'*

ननु चायमस्ति गोकानौका इति ! Oh there is this *Gōkā, nāukā* !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्याद् अणग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, केऽच इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात्, अचो ह्येतद्भवति ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति

If so by *sāmarthya* it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the reading of *aṇ* would serve no purpose, since he would have read *Kēscaḥ*. Or he would not at all have read *acaḥ*, since *hrasvatva, dīrghatva* and *plutatva* relate only to *ac*.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अणग्रहणे सन्देहः अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इति

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra Aṇōspragṛhyasya Anunāsikaḥ* which contains *aṇ*.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ? How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि पदान्ताः परेऽणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter *n*. There are no letters in the *pratyāhāra aṇ* with the latter *n* which are finals of *padas*.

ननु चायमस्ति कर्तृ, हर्तृ ! Oh there is this *karṭr, harṭr*.

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्याद् अणग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, अचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयाद् अच एव हि प्रगृह्या भवन्ति

If so, by *sāmarthya* it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the former, the reading of *aṇ* would serve no purpose, since he would have read *Acōsṣpragr̥hyasyānūnāsikaḥ*. Or he would not have read even *acuḥ*, since only vowels can be *pragr̥hyas*.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अणग्रहणे सन्देहः उरण् रपर इति

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra* *Uraṇ raparaḥ* which contains *aṇ*.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ? How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि उः स्थाने परेऽणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter *ṇ*. There are no letters in *aṇ* with the latter *ṇ* which can come as *ādēśas* of *r*.

ननु चायमस्ति कर्त्रर्थं हर्त्रर्थम् इति !

Oh there is this *kartrartham*, *hartrartham* !

किं च स्यात् ? What if ?

यद्यत्र रपरत्वं स्याद्वयोः रेफयोः श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

If the *rēpha* here is followed by *rēpha*, there is the possibility for two *rēphas*.

हलो यमां यमि लोपः इत्येवमेकस्यात्र लोपो भविष्यतीति

The elision of one of the two will take place by the *sūtra* *Halō yamām yami lōpaḥ*.

विभाषा स लोपः । विभाषा श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

The elision is optional. Hence optionally there is the possibility for two *rēpha*'s.

अयं तर्हि नित्यो लोपः रो रि इति

If so, the elision is by the *sūtra* *Rō ri* which is *nitya*.

पदान्तस्येत्येवं सः

It applies only to that which is at the end of *pada*.

न शक्यः से पदान्तस्येत्येवं विज्ञातुम्, इह हि लोपो न स्यात्—जर्गृधेल्लं
अजर्घाः, पास्पर्द्धेः, अपास्पाः इति

It is not possible to take it to refer only to the *rēpha* which is *padānta*, for, otherwise there will be no elision in *ajarghāḥ* (imperfect of *jargrdh*), *pāspardhēḥ*, *apāspāḥ*.

इह तर्हि मातृणां पितृणाम् इति रपरत्वं प्रसज्येत

If so, there will be रपरत्वं in मातृणां and पितृणाम्.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञायति नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति यदयम् ऋत इद्धातोः इति धातुग्रहणं करोति

The use of *Ācārya* suggests that there is no *raparatva* here, since he reads the word *dhātōḥ* in the *sūtra* *Rta id dhātōḥ*

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be interpreted to become a *jñāpaka* ?

धातुग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्, इह मा भूद् मातृणाम् पितृणाम् इति ; यदि चात्र रपरत्वं स्याद् धातुग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् । रपरत्वे कृते अनन्त्यत्वादित्वं न भविष्यति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति ततो धातुग्रहणं करोति

This is the benefit of reading *dhātu* that *raparatva* may not appear in *mātṛṇām* and *pitṛṇām*. If *raparatva* is here, *dhātugrahaṇa* will be of no avail ; for after *raparatva* is brought in, there will be no *itva* since there will be no *ontyatva*. *Ācārya* sees that there is no *raparatva* here and hence reads *dhātu* in the *sūtra*.

इहापि तर्हि इत्वं न प्राप्नोति—चिकीर्षति जिहीर्षति

If so, there will be no *itva* here also—in *cikīrṣati* and *jihīrṣati*.

मा भूदेवम् ; उपधायाश्चेत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be so ; *itva* comes there by the *sūtra* *Upadhāyāś ca*.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति मातृणां पितृणाम् इति । तस्मात् तत्र धातुग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्.

If so, it will appear also in मातृणाम् and पितृणाम्. Hence is the need to read *dhātu* in the *sūtra*.

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि परेण स्याद् अणग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्,

उरजरपर इत्येव ब्रूयात्

If so, by *sāmarthya*, it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the reading of *aṇ* would be of no avail since he would have read *Uraḥ raparaḥ*.

अस्मिन्तर्हि अणग्रहणे सन्देहः अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः इति

If so, there is doubt in the *sūtra* *Aṇudit-savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* which contains *aṇ*.

असन्दिग्धं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former.

कुत एतत् ? How is it so understood ?

सवर्णेऽण् तु परं ह्यर्कत् ¹

Aṇ in the *savarṇagrāhakasūtra* is with the latter, since there is *ṛt* in the *sūtra* *Ur-ṛt*.

यदयं उर्कत् इत्युक्ते तपरकरणं ² करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति

Since *Ācārya* reads *ṛ* with *t* at the end, he suggests that *aṇ* here is with the latter and not with the former.

इणग्रहणेषु तर्हि सन्देहः

There is, then, doubt in the *sūtras* having *iṇ*.

असन्दिग्धं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former,

कुत एतत् ? How is it so understood ?

य्वोरन्यत्र परेणेण स्यात्

Iṇ is with the latter in all places, since he reads *yvōḥ*.

यत्रेच्छति पूर्वेण, संमृद्य ग्रहणं तत्र करोति य्वोः इति । तच्च गुरु भवति

Where he wants it with the former, he combines *i* and *u* and reads *yvōḥ*. It becomes heavier.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be understood to serve as *jñāpaka* ?

तत्र विभक्तिनिर्देशे संमृद्य ग्रहणे अर्धचतस्रो मात्राः, प्रत्याहारग्रहणे पुनस्तिस्त्रो मात्राः, सोऽयमेवं लघ्वीयसा न्यासेन सिद्धे सति यद्वरीयांसं यत्नमारभते तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति

1. सवर्णेऽण् तपरं ह्यर्कत् is another reading.

2. ऋकारं तपरम् is another reading.

If they are combined and followed by case-suffix, there are *ardhacatasrō mātrāḥ* and if, on the other hand, there is mention through *pratyāhāra*, there are only *tisrō mātrāḥ*. Since *Ācārya* has mentioned so heavily where there is a lighter course, he suggests that *in* is with the latter and not with the former.

किं पुनर्वर्णोत्सत्ताविवायं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते ?

How is it that *n* is read twice as *anubandha* as if there is paucity of letters ?

एतद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति

Ācārya suggests from this the *paribhāṣā* that a *sūtra* has to be clearly understood from the commentary when it is not clear and it should not be thrown out on that score.

अणुदित्सवर्णं परिहाय पूर्वणाग्रहणं परेणग्रहणम् इति व्याख्यास्यामः

We comment that all *an*'s except in *Anuditsavarṇasya cāprayayaḥ* are with the former and (all) *in*'s are with the latter.

अमङ्गणनम् - झभञ्

किमर्थमिमौ मुखनासिकावचनावुभावनुबध्येते, न अकार एवानुबध्यते ?

What for are these two nasals (*m* and *ṇ*) used as *anubandhas* ? Will not *ṇakāra* alone do ?

कथं यानि मकारेण प्रत्याहारग्रहणानि हलो यमां यमि लोपः इति ?

How will then be formed the *pratyāhāras* with *m* at the end as in *Halō yamām yami lōpaḥ* ?

सन्तु अकारेण हलो यजां यजि लोप इति

Let them be with *ṇakāra* thus—*Halō yañām yañi lōpaḥ*.

नैवं शक्यम्, झकारभकारपरयोरपि झकारभकारयोर्लोपः प्रसज्येत

This is not possible since the possibility will arise for the elision of *jh* and *bh* when they are followed by *jh* and *bh*.

न झकारभकारौ झकारभकारपरौ स्तः

Jh and *bh* are not followed by *jh* and *bh*.

कथं पुनः खय्यम्परे इति ?

How will then the *sūtra* पुमः खय्यम्परे be ?

एतदप्यस्तु जकारेण पुमः खय्यम्परे इति ।

Let this also be with the *anubandha* ज् thus—पुमः खय्यम्परे

नैवं शक्यम् । झकारभकारपरेऽपि हि खयि रुः प्रसज्येत

This is not possible since the possibility of रु will arise even when *khay* is followed by *jh* and *bh*.

न झकारभकारपरः खय् अस्ति

There is no *khay* which is followed by *jh* and *bh*.

कथं डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् इति ?

How will the *sūtra* डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् be ?

एतदप्यस्तु डजो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् इति

Let this also be with the *anubandha* ज् thus—डजो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम्

नैवं शक्यम् ; झकारभकारयोरपि हि पदान्तयोः झकारभकारावागमौ स्याताम्

This is not possible since the final *jh* and *bh* will get *jh* and *bh* as augments.

न झकारभकारौ पदान्तौ स्तः There are no final *jh* and *bh*.

एवमपि पञ्चागमाः त्रय आगमिनः वैषम्यात्सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति

Even then, there are five *āgamas* and three *āgamins* and so there will be difficulty in the operation *yaṭhāsamkhyasāstra*.

सन्तु तावद्येषामागमानामागमिनः सन्ति ; झकारभकारौ पदान्तौ न स्त इति कृत्वा आगमावपि न भविष्यतः

Let such be the *āgamas* which have *āgamins*. Since *jh* and *bh* are not final, they do not get *āgamas*.

अथ किमिदमक्षरमिति ?¹ Now what is meant here by *akṣaram*?

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात्

Akṣaram should be taken to mean *na kṣaram*.

1. Since the 14 *sūtras* are called *akṣarasamāmnāyaḥ*, he gives the meaning of *akṣara*.

न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वा अक्षरम्

It should be derived in either of the two ways—*na kṣīyatē* and *na kṣarati*.

अश्रोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम्

Or it may be derived from the root *aś* with the suffix *sara*.

अश्रोतेर्वा पुनरयमौणादिकः सरन् प्रत्ययः । अश्नुते इत्यक्षरम्

The root *aś* is followed by the suffix *saran*. *Akṣaram* is derived from the root *aś*.

वर्णं बाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे ¹

In earlier works *akṣara* was explained as letter.

अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्य अक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते

In earlier works *varṇa* is given the designation *akṣara*.

किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ? What for are those read ?

अथ किमर्थमुपदेशः क्रियते ?

Then what for is their mention made ?

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र ब्रह्म वर्तते ।

तदर्थमिष्टबुद्धयर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥ ²

1. This suggests that there was a *Vyākaraṇa* in the form of *sūtras* before *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. There are many places where *Mahābhāṣyakāra* makes mention of *pūrvasūtra* Cf. पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धाः न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (VII. 1, 18) etc.

2. यदेवोक्तं वार्तिककारेण वृत्तिसमवायार्थं उपदेश इति, तदेव श्लोकवार्तिककारोऽप्याह (*Pradīpikā*.) From this it is clear that the two verses—

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यादश्रोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम् ।

वर्णं बाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ॥

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।

तदर्थमिष्टबुद्धयर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

are the *vārttikas* of a *Ślōkavārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana*.

सोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नायो वाक्समाम्नायः पुष्पितः फलितः चन्द्रतारकवत्प्रतिमण्डितो
वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशिः, सर्ववेदपुण्यफलावाप्तिश्चास्य ज्ञाने भवति, मातापितरौ चास्य
स्वर्गे लोके महीयते

The *śāstra* through which the knowledge of *varṇa* is got has for its subject *vāk* where resides *brahman*. For its sake, for knowing the needed ones and for the sake of simplicity is it (*akṣara-samāmnāya*) read. This collection of letters which is the collection of speech should be taken to be *brahmarāśi* when it blossoms, fructifies and shines like moon and stars. Its knowledge leads one to realise the fruits realised by the study of all Vedas and his parents thrive well in Heaven.

Pratyāhārāhnika ends.

3. वृद्ध्यादिकम्

In this *āhnika* two *sūtras*—*Vṛddhir ādāic* and *Ikō guṇavṛddhī* are discussed at length. This is called *Vṛddhyāhnika*, since the first word of the first *sūtra* is *vṛddhi*.

वृद्धिरादैच् ¹

Here *eight* topics are dealt with. They are :—(1) Why was not the *sūtra* read as *Vṛddhir ādāik*? (2) Is *vṛddhir ādāic* *uddēśya* or *ādāic* alone? (3) Need for the *adhikārasūtra* *Atha saṁjñā*. (4) Is this *sūtra* *saṁjñāvidhāyaka* or *śabdasādhutvādi-vidhāyaka*? (5) Of the two—*vṛddhiḥ* and *ādāic*—which is *saṁjñā* and which is *saṁjñin*? (6) *Anyōnyāśrayatāvāraṇam* (7) Need for the word *pratyēkam* in this *sūtra* and the next. (8) What is the need for *taparakaraṇa* in *āt* of *ādāic*?

I

कुत्वं ² कस्मान्न भवति, चोः कुः पदस्येति ? ³

Why is not the final *c* of the word *ādāic* replaced by *k* as is sanctioned by the *sūtra* *Cōḥ kuḥ*?

1. That this *sūtra* consists of 2 words *vṛddhiḥ* and *ādāic* is known from the word *anayōḥ* of *Bhāṣyakāra* in the statement *kṛtam anayōs sādhutvam* later on in this *sūtra*. That it may be considered to be made up of three words is known from the *bhāṣya* *vṛddhiḥ āt āic* in the first *āhnika*. When *ādāic* is one word, it has not taken the form *ādāicam* since *saṁāsāntavidhi* is considered to be *anitya*.

2. *Kutvam* here refers to *k* alone and not *kavarga*.

3. If one thinks that this point does not arise since *Pāṇini's sūtras* are intended for the *lāukika* and *vāidika* words and *ādāic* is neither, he should be given this answer :—Since the *saṁjñā*, *vṛddhi*, which is enjoined here may be considered to be *lāukika* and its relation to *saṁjñin* is considered to be *nitya*, the *saṁjñī ādāic* should also be considered a *lāukika* word. Or it may be considered to be the *anukaraṇa* of the *pratyāhāra*. Those who uphold the theory *trayī śabdānām pravṛttih* should take *ādāic* to be *jātivācaka*.

भत्वात् Because it is taken to be *bha* (and not *pada*).

कथं भसंज्ञा ? On what authority is it *bha* ?

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि इति By the *sūtra Ayasmayādīni chandasi*

छन्दसीत्युच्यते, न चेदं छन्दः

The word *chandasi* is found there and this is not *chandas*.

छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति ¹

Vyākaraṇa sūtras are treated like Vedic expressions.

यदि भसंज्ञा वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुण इति जश्त्वमपि न प्राप्नोति

If it is *bha* and not *pada*, *c* will not change to *j* as is found in *vrddhirādāiṇadēṅguṇah*.

उभयसंज्ञान्यपि छन्दांसि दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा—स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन
(R. V. IV, 50, 5)—पदत्वात् कुत्वं भत्वाज्जश्त्वं न भवति ; एवमिहापि पदत्वाज्जश्त्वं
भत्वात्कुत्वं न भविष्यति

Vedic expressions are found to have both the *saṁjñās*. Ex. *Sa suṣṭubhā sa ṛkvatā gaṇēna*, where *c* is changed to *k* on account of *pada-saṁjñā* and *k* is not changed to *g* on account of *bhasaṁjñā* in the word *ṛkvatā*. Similarly here *c* is changed to *j* on account of *pada-saṁjñā* and it is not changed to *k* on account of *bha-saṁjñā*.

||

किं पुनरिदं तद्भावितग्रहणं, वृद्धिरित्येवं ये आकारैकारौकारा भाव्यन्ते तेषां
ग्रहणम्, आहोस्विद् आदैज्मातस्य

Is it in this *sūtra tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* ² (i.e.) reference to the letters *ā*, *āi* and *āu* got by the *sūtras* enjoining *vrddhi* or

1. Since *Vyākaraṇa* is said to be an important limb of Vedas in the first *āhnika*, it may be treated like Vedas. He may not have read *āic* as *āik* for the sake of clearness. *Āic* alone can make the reader understand easily that *Pāṇini* refers to the *pratyāhāra*.

2. In *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* there is *āvṛtti* of the word *vrddhi*. The reason for this doubt is both *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* and *atadbhāvitagrahaṇa* are found here. Where elision is enjoined, there is *atadbhāvitagrahaṇa* in *lōpa* and *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* in *luk*, *lup* etc.

reference to the letters *ā*, *āi* and *āu* alone. (In other words, does the designation *vrddhi* refer to only those letters *ā*, *āi* and *āu* qualified by the term *vrddhi* or to all *ā*, *āi* and *āu*?)

किं चातः ? What if (whether it is so or no) ?

यदि तद्भावितग्रहणं शालीयः मालीय इति वृद्धलक्षणश्चो न प्राप्नोति ।
आम्रमयम् शालमयम्—वृद्धलक्षणो मयण् न प्राप्नोति, आम्रगुप्तायनिः शालगुप्तायनिः—
वृद्धलक्षणः फिन् न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa*, the *pratyaya* 'cha' by the *sūtra* *Vrddhāt chaḥ* cannot be suffixed to the words *śālā* and *mālā* to get the forms *śālīyaḥ* and *mālīyaḥ*; the *pratyaya* 'mayat' by the *sūtra* 'Nityam vrddhaśarādibhyaḥ' cannot be suffixed to the words *āmra* and *śāla* to get the forms *āmramayam* and *śālamayam*, and the *pratyaya* 'phiñ' by the *sūtra* 'Udācām vrddhād agōtrāt' to the words *āmragupta* and *śālagupta* to get the forms *āmraguptāyaniḥ* and *śālaguptāyaniḥ*.

अथ आदैज्मात्रस्य ग्रहणं सर्वो भासः सर्वभास इति उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च
इत्येष विधिः प्राप्नोति, इह च तावती भार्या यस्य तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः वृद्धि-
निमित्तस्य ... इति पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

If, on the other hand, there is reference only to *ā*, *āi* and *āu*, the *sūtra* 'Uttarapadavrddhāu sarvañ ca'¹ will be applied to the word *sarvabhāsa* which is the compound of *sarvō bhāsaḥ* (when the word will have its final syllable *udātta*), and when *tāvatī bhāryā yasya*, *yāvatī bhāryā yasya* are compounded, there will be no *puṁvadbhāva*, so that the forms *tāvadbhāryaḥ* and *yāvadbhāryaḥ* cannot be formed, (but they would become *tāvatībhāryaḥ* and *yāvatībhāryaḥ*, which forms are not current in the world).

अस्तु तर्हि आदैज्मात्रस्य ग्रहणम्

In that case, let the reference be only to *ā*, *āi* and *āu*.

ननु चोक्तं सर्वो भासः सर्वभास इति उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च इत्येष विधिः
प्राप्नोति ?

1. *Bhaṭṭojidīkṣit's vṛtti*—उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या वृद्धिर्विहिता तद्व्युत्तरपदे परे सर्वशब्दो
दिक्शब्दाश्च अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ; सर्वपाञ्चालकः ; अधिकारग्रहणं किम् ? सर्वभासः.

Has it not been said that, in that case, *Uttarapadavrddhāu* ... will apply to *sarvabhāsa*, the compound of *sarvō bhāsaḥ* ?

नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धाविति
It is no harm ; the word *uttarapadavrddhāu* is not the locative of *uttarapadavrddhiḥ*, the compound of *uttarapadasya vrddhiḥ*.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

उत्तरपदस्य इत्येवं प्रकृत्य या वृद्धिः तद्वत्युत्तरपदे इत्येवमेतद्विज्ञायते । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्, तद्भावितग्रहणे सत्यपि इह प्रसज्येत सर्वः कारकः सर्वकारक इति
It is understood in this way :—*Uttarapadasya ityēvam prakṛtya yā vrddhiḥ tadvatyuttarapadē*. This should be interpreted this way; for, otherwise, even granting *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* that defect will appear even in the word *sarvakārah*, the compound of *sarvaḥ kārah*.

यदप्युच्यते इह तावती भार्या यस्य तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः इति च वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य... इति पुनर्द्वावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति, नैष दोषः ; नैवं विज्ञायते वृद्धेर्निमित्तं वृद्धिनिमित्तं, वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति

And the other point that was raised that *pūnervadbhāvapratiṣēdha* will appear by the *sūtra* ' *Vrddhinimittasya...* ' in the case of *tāvadbhāryaḥ*, the compound of *tāvati bhāryā yasya* and *yāvadbhāryaḥ* cannot stand, for the word *vrddhinimittasya* is not taken to be the genitive of *vrddhinimittam*, the compound of *vrddhēr nimittam*.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

वृद्धेर्निमित्तं यस्मिन्सोऽयं वृद्धिनिमित्तः वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति
It is the genitive of *vrddhinimitta*, the compound of *vrddhēr nimittam yasmin saḥ*.

किं च वृद्धेर्निमित्तम् ? What is the *nimitta* of *vrddhi* ?

योऽसौ ककारो, अकारो, णकारो वा *Kakāra*, *ñakāra* or *ṇakāra*.

अथवा यः कृत्स्नायाः वृद्धेर्निमित्तम्

Or that which is the *nimitta* of all *vrddhi*.

कश्च कृत्स्नायाः वृद्धेर्निमित्तम् ? What is the *nimitta* of all *vrddhi* ?

यस्त्रयाणामाकारैकारौकाराणाम्

That which is (the *nimitta*) of *ā*, *āi* and *āu*.

The first two topics are *Mahābhāṣyakāra*'s own since there is no *vārttika*.

III

संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः

Samjñādhikārasūtra for clear conception of *samjñā*,

अथ संज्ञा इत्येवं प्रकृत्य वृद्ध्यादयः शब्दाः पठितव्याः; किं प्रयोजनम्? संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः, वृद्ध्यादीनां शब्दानां संज्ञा इत्येष संप्रत्ययो यथा स्यात्

There should be a *sūtra* *Atha samjñā* before *vrddhi* etc. What for? *Samjñāsampratyayārthaḥ* - so that there may be clear conception that the words like *vrddhi* are *samjñās*,

इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके

For otherwise, absence of clear conception, as in the world.

अक्रियमाणे हि संज्ञाधिकारे वृद्ध्यादीनां संज्ञेत्येष संप्रत्ययो न स्यात् । इदमिदानीं बहुसूत्रमनर्थकं स्यात् । अनर्थकमित्याह । कथम्? यथा लोके । लोके ह्यर्थवन्ति चानर्थकानि च वाक्यानि ¹ दृश्यन्ते । अर्थवन्ति तावत्—देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लं दण्डेन, देवदत्त गामभ्याज कृष्णम् इति; अनर्थकानि — दश दाडिमानी षडपूपः कुण्डमजाजिनं पल्लपिण्डः अधरोरुक्रमेतत्कुमार्याः स्फैयकृतस्य पिता प्रतिशीनः इति

If *samjñādhikāra* is not done, one cannot have a clear conception of *vrddhi* etc. to be *samjñā*. Then many chapters may become meaningless. Meaningless, says he. How? As is in the world. There are sentences in the world both with meaning and without meaning: those that have meaning are at first, *Dēvadatta.....kṛṣṇām*; those that are meaningless *Daśa....pratiśīnaḥ*.

संज्ञासंज्ञसंदेहश्च

Removal of the doubt of *samjñā* and *samjñāin*.

क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंज्ञिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्यः । कुतो ह्येतत् वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञा, आदैचः संज्ञिन इति; न पुनरादैचः संज्ञा, वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञी इति

1. Note that the word *vākyāni* is used in the sense of groups of words whether they make a sense or no.

Even when the *saṃjñādhikārasūtra* is read, doubt should be cleared as to what is *saṃjñā* and what is *saṃjñin*. For how does one know that the word *vrddhi* is *saṃjñā* and *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *saṃjñins* and not *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *saṃjñās* and *vrddhi*, *saṃjñin*?

यत्तावदुच्यते संज्ञाधिकारः कर्तव्यः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः इति, न कर्तव्यः

The first point raised that *saṃjñādhikārah kartavyaḥ saṃjñā-sampratyayārthaḥ* need not be.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिः

The conception of *saṃjñā* from *Ācārya*'s use.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिर्भविष्यति

One can have a definite conception of what is *saṃjñā* from *Ācārya*'s using them.

किमिदमाचार्याचारादिति ?

What is here the meaning of *Ācāryācārāt* ?

आचार्याणामुपचारात् ? By the *vyavahāra* of *Ācārya*.

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु

As is found in those related to *lōka* and *Veda*.

तद्यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वन्ते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इयमस्य संज्ञेति । वेदेऽपि याज्ञिकाः ¹ संज्ञां कुर्वन्ति स्फयो यूपश्चषाल इति । तत्रभवतामुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इयमस्य संज्ञेति

It is like the happenings in the world and in the *Vedas*. First in the world the parents name the child that is born as *Dēvadatta*, *Yajñadatta* in a closed room and by their use, others understand that it is his name. In the *Vedas* too *yājñikas* name sacrificial utensils as *sphya*, *yūpa*, *caṣāla* etc. and from the use of those words made by those venerable men, others understand them to be their respective *saṃjñā*.

एवमिहापि ; इहैव तावत् केचिद् व्याचक्षाणा आहुः वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञा, आदैचः संज्ञिन इति ; अपरे पुनः सिचि वृद्धिः... इत्युक्त्वा आकारैकारौकारानुदाहरन्ति ; तेन मन्यामहे यया प्रत्याय्यन्ते सा संज्ञा, ये प्रतीयन्ते ते संज्ञिन इति

1. याज्ञिकाः = यज्ञकाण्डद्रष्टारः ऋषयः (*Uddyota*)

So also here ; even here some comment that the word *vrddhi* is *saṃjñā* and *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *saṃjñins* ; others read the *sūtra* *Sici vrddhiḥ* ... and illustrate it with *ā*, *āi* and *āu* ; thence do we understand that with which another is denoted is *saṃjñā* and those that are denoted are *saṃjñins*.

यदप्युच्यते क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंज्ञिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्य इति
As regards the statement *kriyamāṇeSpi...vaktavyaḥ*.

संज्ञासंज्ञयसन्देहश्च There is no doubt about *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin*.

संज्ञासंज्ञिनोश्च असन्देहः सिद्धः ; कुतः ; आचार्याचारादेव, उक्त आचार्या-
चारः

Evidently there is no doubt with regard to *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin*. How ? From *Ācārya's ācāra* ; *ācāryācāra* has been explained.

अनाकृतिः That which has no *ākṛti*.

अथवा अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमन्तः संज्ञिनः । लोकेऽपि ह्याकृतिमतो
मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

Or *saṃjñā* is that which has no *ākṛti* and *saṃjñins* are those which have *ākṛti*. Even in the world the name *Dēvadatta* is given to the mass of flesh having *ākṛti*.¹

Since it is not easy here to decide which is *ākṛtimān* and which is *anākṛtinān*, *Vārttikakāra* gives another reason thus :—

लिङ्गेन वा Or with distinguishing mark.

अथवा किंचिल्लिङ्गमासज्य वक्ष्यामि इत्थंलिङ्गा संज्ञेति ; वृद्धिशब्दे च तल्लिङ्गं
करिष्यते, नादैच्छब्दे

Or using a distinguishing mark, I shall say that *saṃjñā* is that which has a particular mark ; and that mark is added to *vrddhi* and not to *ādāic*.

इदं तावदयुक्तम्, यदुच्यते आचार्यचारादिति
The statement *ācāryācārāt* is inappropriate.

किमत्रायुक्तम् ? How is it here inappropriate ?

1. *Ākṛti* though generally means *jāti* here means *manyness* ; hence *anākṛti* means *oneness*,

तमेवोपालभ्य अगमकं ते सूत्रमिति, तस्यैव पुनः प्रमाणीकरणमित्येतदयुक्तम्,
अपरितुष्यन् खल्वपि भवाननेन परिहारेण अनाकृतिर्लिङ्गेन वा इत्याह

Having found fault with him that his *sūtra* is not clear it is inappropriate to take his *sūtra* as the authority. Only not being satisfied with it have you given other reasons *anakṛtiḥ liṅgēna vā*.

तच्चापि वक्तव्यम्

That distinguishing mark will have to be read.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथैवैतर्हि इत्संज्ञा न वक्तव्या, लोपश्च न वक्तव्यः, संज्ञालिङ्ग-
मनुबन्धेषु करिष्यते । न च संज्ञाया निवृत्तिरुच्यते । स्वभावतः संज्ञा संज्ञिनं प्रत्याप्य
स्वयं निवर्तते,¹ तेनानुबन्धानामपि निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति

If it is read, then there is no need for enjoining *it-samjñā* and its elision. The distinguishing mark is attached to *anubandhas* (found in roots etc.) and no *sūtra* enjoining its disappearance need be read; as the *samjñā* enabling us to understand the *samjñin* disappears of its own accord, so also the *anubandhas* disappear.

सिध्यत्येवम्; अपाणिनीयं तु भवति; यथान्यासमेवास्तु

The desired object is thus accomplished. But it goes against *Pāṇini's* plan. Let the *sūtras* remain as they are,

ननु चोक्तम् संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके इति
Has it not been said that *samjñādhikāra* is for clear concep-
tion of *samjñā* and otherwise there will be no clear concep-
tion, as is found in the world?

न च यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे । प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः
शुचाववकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म । तत्राशक्यं
वर्णेनाप्यनर्थकेन भवितुम् । किं पुनरियता सूत्रेण?

The same is not the case in grammar as is in the world. The *Ācārya* who is an authority for us composed these *sūtras* with great effort, having seated himself in a clean place with face turned east and with a ring made of kuśa grass worn on his

1. *Samjñāḥ samjñīnaḥ pratyāyā nivartantē* in another reading.

fourth finger. Not even a single letter there can be meaningless. Is it then possible for this whole *sūtra* to be so?

किमतः ? What is gained from it ?

यदशक्यम्, अतः संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेव

Since it is not possible (even for a letter to be *anarthaka*), they are evidently *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin*.

IV

कुतो नु खल्वेतत् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेवेति, न पुनः साध्वनुशासने अस्मिन् शास्त्रे साधुत्वमनेन क्रियते ?

How is it that it is decided that they are *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin* and not that they are the correct forms from this *śāstra* intended to decide the correctness of words ?

कृतमनयोस्साधुत्वम्

The correctness of these two ¹ has been ascertained.

कथम् ? How ?

वृधिरस्मा अविशेषेणोपदिष्टः प्रकृतिपाठे, तस्मात् क्तिन्प्रत्ययः । आदैचोऽप्यक्षर-समाम्नाये उपदिष्टाः

The root *vr̥dh* is read in *prakṛtipāṭha* and the *pratyaya* 'ktin' is suffixed to it. *Āt* and *āic* are read in *Māhēśvarasūtras*.²

प्रयोगनियमार्थं तर्हिदं स्यात्—वृद्धिशब्दात्परे आदैचः प्रयोक्तव्या इति
Let then this be to decide the order of words that *ādāicah* should follow *vr̥ddhiḥ*.

नेह प्रयोगनियम आरभ्यते ³

The restriction of the order of words is not taken here.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

1. Two refers to *vr̥ddhiḥ* and *ādāic*.
2. This sentence means that the letters denoted by *āt* and *āic* are read or comprehended in *Māhēśvarasūtras* :—*Āiun* and *Āiāuc*.
3. This clearly shows that *Pāṇini* does not deal with Syntax but only with Phonology and Morphology.

संस्कृत्य संस्कृत्य पदान्युत्सृज्यन्ते तेषां यथेष्टमभिसंबन्धो भवति, तद्यथा
आहर पात्रम्, पात्रमाहर इति

Words are formed here. They may be connected in any way one likes, as in *āhara pātram* and *pātram āhara*.

आदेशास्तर्हि इमे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्य आदैच आदेशाः

Then may these be *ādēśas*; *ādāicaḥ* are the *ādēśas* of the word *vrddhiḥ*.

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यादेशा उच्यन्ते, न चात्र षष्ठीं पश्यामः

Ādēśas are for that which is in the sixth case (explicit or implied). We do not see here the sixth case.

आगमास्तर्हिमे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्यादैच आगमाः

Then may these be augments; *ādāicaḥ* are the augments of the word *vrddhiḥ*.

आगमा अपि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यैवोच्यन्ते, लिङ्गेन च । न चात्र षष्ठीं न खल्वप्या-
गमलिङ्गं पश्यामः

Āgamas also are for that which is in the sixth case or they are denoted to be such by some distinguishing mark. We do not see here either the sixth case or the *āgamaliṅga*.

इदं ¹ खल्वपि भूयः सामानाधिकरण्यमेकविभक्तिकत्वं च; द्वयोश्चैतद्ववति
Sāmānādhikarāṇya and *ekavibhaktikātva* are here; this is seen only in two cases.

कयोः ? In which two cases ?

विशेषणविशेष्ययोर्वा संज्ञासंज्ञिनोर्वा

In the cases wherein they are the word qualified and the qualifying word or *saṁjñā* and *saṁjñin*.

तत्रैतत्स्याद्विशेषणविशेष्ये इति

Of the two, let this be the case of *viśēṣaṇa* and *viśēṣya*.

तच्च न, द्वयोर्हि प्रतीतपदार्थकयोर्लोके विशेषणविशेष्यभावो भवति । न
चादैच्छशब्दः प्रतीतपदार्थकः । तस्मात् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेव

1. इदम् = अत्र Cf. इदमहमसुमववाध (शतपथम् 1-3-5-7).

No, it is not; for *viśēṣaṇa-viśēṣya-bhāva* is seen in the world only in the case of two whose meanings are definitely known. Here the meaning of *ādāic* is not clear. Hence they are *saṁjñā* and *saṁjñin*.

V

तत्र त्वेतावान् सन्देहः—कः संज्ञी का संज्ञेति

There arises this doubt—which is *saṁjñin* and which is *saṁjñā*.

स चापि क सन्देहः? Where then does that doubt arise?

यत्रोभे समानाक्षरे । यत्र त्वन्यतरल्लघु सा संज्ञा, यद्गुरु स संज्ञी

Where both have the same number of syllables. Where, on the other hand, one has smaller number of syllables and another larger number of syllables, the former is *saṁjñā* and the latter is *saṁjñin*.

कुत एतत्? Wherefrom is this?

लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्?

For indeed it is for brevity that *saṁjñās* are made!

तत्राप्ययं नावश्यं गुरुलघुतामेवोपलक्षयितुमर्हति

There too it does not invariably signify the *gurutā* and *laghutā*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

अनाकृतितामपि । अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमन्तः संज्ञिनः, लोकेऽपि ह्याकृतिमतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

The state of being without *ākṛti* also. That which has no *ākṛti* is *saṁjñā* and those that have *ākṛti* are *saṁjñins*. In the world too the name *Dēvadotta* is given to the mass of flesh which has *ākṛti*.

अथवा आवर्तिन्यः संज्ञा भवन्ति । वृद्धिशब्दश्चावर्तते, नादैच्छब्दः । तद्यथा इतरत्रापि देवदत्तशब्दः आवर्तते, न मांसपिण्डः

Or those which are repeated are *saṁjñās*. The word *vrddhi* alone is repeated and not *ādāic*. The same is the case elsewhere also—the word *Dēvadattaḥ* is repeated and not the mass of flesh.

अथवा पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा

Or the first-mentioned is *saṃjñin* and the next-mentioned is *saṃjñā*.

कुत एतत्? Whence is this?

सतो हि कार्यिणः कार्येण भवितव्यम्, तद्यथा इतरत्रापि सतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

For operation comes only when there is an operator. The same is seen even elsewhere—the name *Dēvadattaḥ* is given only to the existing mass of flesh.

कथं वृद्धिरादैजिति?

Then how is it *vrddhir ādāic*? (in other words, why is the order inverted here?)

एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मृष्यताम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि भवन्त्यायुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि चाध्येतारश्च वृद्धियुक्ता यथा स्युरिति ¹ । सर्वत्रैव हि व्याकरणे पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा, अदेङ्गुणः इति यथा

This one used by *Ācārya* for the sake of *maṅgala* may be passed over. *Ācārya*, eager of *maṅgala*, used at the commencement, the word *vrddhiḥ* to serve as *maṅgala* for his great work; for, only such works as have *maṅgala* at the commencement thrive well, making the readers strong, long-lived and prosperous. In the whole *Vyākaraṇa*, the first mentioned is *saṃjñin* and the next mentioned is *saṃjñā* Cf. *Adēn guṇaḥ*.

Having definitely mentioned the criterion to decide which is *saṃjñā* and which is *saṃjñin*, he reopens the topic of *saṃjñādhikāra* which he closed by saying *na ca yathā lōkē tathā Vyākaraṇē*.

1. Cf. माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वकारमागमं प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि मङ्गलमध्यानि मङ्गलान्तानि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि च भवन्ति आयुष्मत्पुरुषाणि चाध्येतारश्च मङ्गलयुक्ता यथा स्युः (*Bhāṣya* under भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1) एवं सूत्रकारेणापि विष्णुवाचकाकारस्य द्विरुच्चारणाद् द्विः विष्णुस्मरणरूपं मङ्गलमाचरितम् । किञ्च 'अकारो वै सर्वा वाक् सैषा स्पर्शोष्मभिर्व्यज्यमाना नानारूपा भवति' इति श्रुतेः अकारस्य सर्वशब्दप्रकृतित्वात् 'अ' इति 'ब्रह्म' इति शब्दब्रह्मरूपत्वश्रवणाच्च महामङ्गलार्थता । वार्तिककृतापि 'भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम्' इति सिद्धशब्दोच्चारणेन कृतं मङ्गलम् (*Uddyōta* under अ अ VIII-4-68).

दोषवान्खल्वपि संज्ञाधिकारः; अष्टमेऽपि हि संज्ञा क्रियते तस्य परमाश्रेष्ठितम् इति, तत्रापीदमनुत्तरं स्यात्
Samjñādhikāra will be defective too; for there is *saṃjñā sūtra* like *Tasya param āmrēditam* in the eighth chapter. There too this *saṃjñādhikāra* should have its influence.

अथवाऽस्थानेऽयं यत्नः क्रियते, न हीदं लोकाद्भिद्यते । यदीदं लोकाद्भिद्येत ततो यत्नाहं स्यात् । तद्यथा - अगोजाय कश्चिद्गोसक्थनि कर्णे वा गृहीत्वोपदिशति अयं गौः इति; न चास्मायाचष्टे इयमस्य संज्ञेति, भवति चास्य संप्रत्ययः
 Or this attempt is inopportune, for this is not different from what is met in the world. If this is different from what happens in the world, then it deserves to be specially treated. For example, one takes hold of a cow by its thigh or ear and tells another ignorant of it 'this is a cow'; but he never tells him that it is her *saṃjñā*. Correct impression is formed in the mind of the hearer.

तत्रैतत्स्यात् कृतस्तत्र पूर्वैरभिसम्बन्धः इति
 There, this may be said that the *saṃjñā-saṃjñā-bhāva* was determined by the forefathers.

इहापि कृतः पूर्वैरभिसम्बन्धः
 Here too the relation has been determined by the forefathers.
 कैः? By whom?

आचार्यैः By the *Ācāryas*.
 तत्रैतत्स्यात् यस्यै तर्हि संप्रत्ययपदिशति तस्याकृतः इति
 There may this arise that he who is now taught does not know it.

लोकेऽपि हि यस्यै संप्रत्ययपदिशति तस्याकृतः । अथ तत्र कृतः, इहापि कृतो द्रष्टव्यः
 In the world too he who is taught does not know it. If he knows it there, here also it should be taken that he knows it.

VI

सतो वृद्ध्यादिषु संज्ञाभावात् तदाश्रय इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः
 On account of inter-dependence, *saṃjñā* coming in when *saṃjñā* exists and *saṃjñā* being comprehended through

saṁjñās, there is no clear comprehension in the words *vrddhi* etc.

सतः संज्ञिनः संज्ञाभावात्, तदाश्रये संज्ञाश्रये संज्ञिनि, वृद्ध्यादिष्वितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

When *saṁjñin* exists, there is need for naming it; the *saṁjñin* is comprehended through *saṁjñā*. Hence there is inter-dependence. On that account there is no clear comprehension of the words *vrddhi* etc. (in *sūtras* like *Mrjēh vrddhi*.)

का इतरेतराश्रयता How is there interdependence ?

सतामादैचां संज्ञया भवितव्यम्, संज्ञया चादैचो भाव्यन्ते । तदेतदितरेतराश्रयं भवति; इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते; तद्यथा नौर्नावि बद्धा नेतरत्राणाय भवति

There should be *ādāic* so that *saṁjñā* may be given to it; and through *saṁjñā* they are made to exist. This is interdependence. Deeds which are interdependent are not accomplished. For instance ship attached to another ship is not able to come to its rescue (while sinking).

ननु च भोः, इतरेतराश्रयाण्यपि कार्याणि दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा नौः शकटं वहति, शकटं च नावं वहति

Oh! we see even the interdependent deeds being accomplished. For instance ship carries cart and cart carries ship.

अन्यदपि तत्र किञ्चिद् भवति जलं स्थलं वा; स्थले शकटं नावं वहति, जले नौः शकटं वहति

Another thing is there, water or land; cart carries ship on land and ship carries cart on water.

यथा तर्हि त्रिविष्टम्भकम्

So then a holder (of books) made of three planks (may serve as an example).

तत्राप्यन्ततः सूत्रकं भवति । इदं पुनरितरेतराश्रयमेव

There too exists the string (which keeps them together). Here there is only interdependence.

सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात्

Our object is gained on account of the *nityatva* of *śabda*.

सिद्धमेतत् Our object is gained.

कथम्? How?

नित्यशब्दत्वात् । नित्याः शब्दाः, नित्येषु शब्देषु सतामादैचां संज्ञा क्रियते ;
न च संज्ञया आदैचो भाव्यन्ते

(It is so) since *śabda* is *nitya*. *Śabdas* are *nitya*; when *śabdas* are *nitya*, *saṃjñā* is given to *ādāic* which already existed; their existence is not brought out by the *saṃjñā*.

यदि तर्हि नित्याः शब्दाः किमर्थं शास्त्रम्?

If *śabdas* are *nitya*, what for is the *śāstra*?

किमर्थं शास्त्रमिति चेन्नवर्तकत्वात्सिद्धम्

If it is asked what for the *śāstra* is, its existence is established on account of its warding capacity.

निवर्तकम् शास्त्रम् *Śāstra* has the capacity to ward off.

कथम्? How?

मृजिरस्मायविशेषणोपदिष्टः, तस्य सर्वत्र मृजिबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता, तत्रानेन निवृत्तिः
क्रियते मृजेरकुडित्सु प्रत्ययेषु मृजिप्रसङ्गे मार्जिः साधुर्भवति इति

The root *mrj* is read generally. It is taken that it comes everywhere. Then this *sūtra* (*Mrjēḥ vṛddhiḥ*) prohibits it. It says that, when it is followed by *pratyayas* which are neither *kit* nor *nit*, *mārj* is the correct form in place of *mrj*.

VII

¹ [वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः प्रत्येकं वचनम् वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः प्रत्येकग्रहणं वक्तव्यम्]

Need for the word *pratyēka* in the first two *sūtras*. The word *pratyēka* should be read in the first two *sūtras*.

प्रत्येकं वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे भवत इति वक्तव्यम्

It should be read that the *saṃjñā*, *vṛddhiḥ* and *guṇaḥ* apply to each (of *ādāic* and *adēn* respectively.)

1. The Portion marked [] is not found in certain editions.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the benefit ?

समुदाये मा भूताम् इति

So that they may not apply collectively.

अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः

The word *saha* being read elsewhere, there is no possibility for the *saṃjñā* to act collectively.

अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोरप्रसङ्गः । यत्रेच्छति सहभूतानां कार्यं, करोति तत्र सहग्रहणम् । तद्यथा सह सुपा, उभे अभ्यस्तं सह इति

Since the word *saha* is read elsewhere, there is no possibility for the *saṃjñā*, *vṛddhiḥ* and *guṇaḥ* to be applied collectively. Where he wants anything collectively, he reads the word *saha*. *Ex. Saha supā, Ubhē abhyastam saha.*

प्रत्ययवयं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः

On account of the fruit of the meaning of the sentence being seen individually.

प्रत्ययवयं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दृश्यते । तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्तामिति । न चोच्यते प्रत्येकमिति । प्रत्येकं च भुजिः परिसमाप्यते

The fruit of the meaning of the sentence is seen individually. For instance, in the sentence *Dēvadatta-yaḥjñadatta-viṣṇumitrā bhōjyantām* the word *pratyēkam* is not used. The fruit of eating is seen individually.

ननु चायमप्यस्ति दृष्टान्तः समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः इति । तद्यथा गर्गाः शतं दण्ड्यन्ताम् इति । अर्थिनश्च राजानो हिरण्येन भवन्ति, न च प्रत्येकं दण्डयन्ति Oh! the other *nyāya* also is found that the fruit of the action is found collectively. *viz. Gargāḥ śatam dandyanām.* Kings want money and they do not fine them individually.

सति एतस्मिन् दृष्टान्ते यदि तत्र सहग्रहणं क्रियते, इहापि प्रत्येकमिति वक्तव्यम् । अथ तत्रान्तरेण सहग्रहणं सहभूतानां कार्यं भवति, इहापि नार्थः प्रत्येकमिति वचनेन If, in the presence of this *nyāya*, the word *saha* is read, here too the word *pratyēkam* should be read. If, without the use of the word *saha*, action may take place collectively, here too can it take place individually without the use of the word *pratyēkam*.

Here it may be noted that there is slight difference in their views between *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*; the former does not take cognisance of the *nyāya Samudāyē vākyapari-samāptiḥ* and hence thinks that there is need for the word *saha* in that case and there is no need for *pratyēkam* in the other case. *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, on the other hand, wants *saha* there and *pratyēkam* here, if one does not take recourse to the *nyāyas* or does not want them both, since the same can be determined by the application of the two *nyāyas* mentioned above.

VIII

अथ किमर्थमाकारस्तपरः क्रियते ?

Now what for is *ā* provided with *t*?

आकारस्य तपरकरणं सवर्णार्थम्

Taparakaraṇa of *ākāra* is for *savarṇa*.

आकारस्य तपरकरणं क्रियते । किं प्रयोजनम् ? सवर्णार्थम् । तपरस्तत्कालस्य इति तत्कालानां सवर्णानां ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Ā is provided with *t*. What for? For the sake of *savarṇa*—So that it may denote *savarṇas* of the same quantity by the *sūtra Taparas tatkālasya*.

केषाम् ? For what (*savarṇas*)?

उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानाम् ?

For *ā* which have *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* accent?

किं च कारणं न स्यात् ? Why could they not be denoted?

भेदकत्वात्स्वरस्य, भेदका उदात्तादयः

On account of the differentiating capacity of accent. *Udātta* etc. are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते भेदका उदात्तादय इति ?

How is it understood that *udātta* etc. are differentiating elements?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके—य उदात्ते कर्तव्येऽनुदात्तं करोति खण्डिकोपाध्यायस्तस्मै चपेटां ददाति अन्यत् त्वं करोषीति

For this is seen in the world—him who mispronounces *anudātta* for *udātta*, the teacher of pupils who learn section by section of a work gives him a blow with open hand saying that you are mispronouncing.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्—There is this benefit, but—

किं तर्हीति? Then what is suggested by *but*?

भेदकत्वादुणस्य *Bhēdakatvād guṇasya*.

भेदकत्वादुणस्येति वक्तव्यम्

It should be said *bhēdakatvād guṇasya* (i.e.) *svarasya* in the previous *vārttika* should be replaced by *guṇasya*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the use?

आनुनासिक्यं नाम गुणः, तद्विन्नस्यापि ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Nasalisation is a *guṇa*; so that it may apply to that differentiated by it.

किं च कारणं न स्यात्? Why should it not refer to it?

भेदकत्वादुणस्य—भेदका गुणाः

On account of the differentiating capacity of *guṇa*. *Guṇas* are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते भेदका गुणा इति?

How is it known that *guṇas* are *bhēdakas*?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके—एकोऽयमात्मा उदकं नाम, तस्य गुणभेदात् अन्यत्वं भवति, अन्यदिदम् शीतम् अन्यदिदमुष्णम् इति

For it is seen in the world that the one object—water—becomes different with different qualities—this is cool and this is hot.

ननु च भोः, अभेदका अपि गुणा दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा देवदत्तो मुण्ड्यपि जट्यपि शिख्यपि स्वमाख्यां न जहाति, तथा बालो युवा वृद्धो वत्सो दम्भ्यो बलीवर्द इति

Oh! there are *guṇas* which do not sometimes differentiate. For instance as *Dēvadatta* is not bereft of his name whether his head is completely shaven, full of clotted hair or has tuft, so also an ox is not bereft of its name whether it is young, middle-aged, old, a calf or a tamed animal.

उभयमिदं गुणेषूक्तम् भेदका अभेदका इति । किं पुनरत्र न्याय्यम् ?

Here both have been said with reference to *gunas* that they are *bhēdaka* and *abhēdaka*. Which is right here ?

अभेदका गुणा इत्येव न्याय्यम्

It is right to take that *gunas* are *abhēdaka*.

कुत एतत् ? Why is it ?

यदयं अस्थिदधिसूक्ष्मक्षणामनडुदात्तः इत्युदात्तग्रहणं करोति, तज्ज्ञापय-
त्याचार्योऽभेदका गुणा इति । यदि हि भेदका गुणाः स्युः उदात्तमेवोच्चारयेत्

Since the *Ācārya* reads the word *udātta* in the *sūtra* *Asthi...*, he indicates that *gunas* are *abhēdakas*. If *gunas* are *bhēdakas*, he would have pronounced the words with *udātta* accent.

यदि तर्हि अभेदका गुणा अनुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तत्स्वरितादेः
स्वरितान्ताच्च प्राप्नोति

If, then, *gunas* are *abhēdakas*, that which is said for a word which has its first syllable *anudātta*, or its last syllable *udātta*, will be applied to a word which has its first syllable *svarita* or the last syllable *svarita*.

नैष दोषः, आश्रीयमाणो गुणो भेदको भवति, तद्यथा शुक्लमालभेत
कृष्णमालभेत, तत्र यः शुक्ल आलब्धव्ये कृष्णमालभते न हि तेन यथोक्तं कृतं भवति
This is no defect. The *guṇa* that is specifically mentioned along with the object serves as a differentiating element. For instance when it is said 'Tie to the stake the white', 'Tie to the stake the black', if one ties the black when the white has to be tied, he has not done as is ordained.

असंदेहार्थस्तर्हि तकारः । ऐजित्युच्यमाने सन्देहः स्यात्, किमिमावैचावेव
आहोस्विद् आकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यत इति

Takāra is then to avoid the doubt. If *āic* alone is read, there is the doubt, whether the *pratyāhāra āic* alone is referred to here or *ā* also.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति । सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रति-
पत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति । त्रयाणां ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः । अन्यत्रापि
अयमेवजातीयकेषु सन्देहेषु न कञ्चिद्वचनं करोति, तद्यथा औतोऽश्शसोः इति

There is this doubt alone. In all cases of doubt we take recourse to this - that detailed knowledge arises from the commentary and hence doubt does not enable the *śāstra* to be neglected. We comment that *āic* refers to all the three. He has not made any attempt in similar cases of doubt (to remove the same). *viz. Āutōmśasōh.*

इदन्तर्हि प्रयोजनम् ¹ आन्तर्यतस्त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा मा भूवन् इति, खट्वा इन्द्रः, खट्वेन्द्रः, खट्वा उदकं खट्वोदकं, खट्वा ईषा खट्वेषा, खट्वा ऊढा खट्वोढा, खट्वा एलका खट्वैलका, खट्वा ओदनः खट्वौदनः, खट्वा ऐतिकायनः खट्वैतिकायनः, खट्वा औपगवः खट्वौपगव इति

This is the benefit - *ādēśas* of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* in the following :- *Khatvāindrah...khatvāupagavaḥ.*

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि तकारे कस्मादेव त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न भवन्ति ?

Even when *takāra* is read, how cannot *ādēśas* of three and four *mātrās* replace *sthānin* with three and four *mātrās* ?

तपरस्तत्कालस्य इति नियमात् By the *sūtra-Taparas tatkalasya.*

ननु तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः ?

Is not *tapara* a *bahuvrīhi* compound ?

नेत्याह, तादपि परः तपरः

No, says he ; it is also a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपरः ऋदोरप् इतीहैव स्यात् यवः स्तवः, लवः पवः इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra Ṛdōrap* will operate only with respect to *yavaḥ* and *stavaḥ* and not with respect to *lavaḥ* and *pavaḥ*.

नैष तकारः This is not *takāra*.

कस्तर्हि ? What then ?

1. It should be understood that *t* is not for *ā* but for *āic*. Cf. *Bhāṣya* under 6—1—87.

दकारः *Dakāra*.

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम्? What is the use in reading *dakāra*?

अथ किं तकारे? यद्यसंदेहार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि, अथ मुखसुखार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि

What is the use in reading *takāra*? If it is to avoid the doubt, *dakāra* also serves the same purpose; if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

इको गुणवृद्धी

Eight topics are dealt with in this *sūtra*:—(1) The need for *ikaḥ* in this *sūtra*. (2) The need for the *anuvṛtti* of the words *guṇa* and *vrddhi* from the previous *sūtras*. (3) Whether this *sūtra* and *Alōntyasya* have the relationship of *śēṣaśēṣitva* (4) Whether this *sūtra* and *Alōntyasya* are in the relationship of *utsargāpavāda* (5) Whether this *sūtra* and *Alōntyasya* are not at all connected with each other (6) Wherever *guṇa* or *vrddhi* is enjoined, the word *ikaḥ* appears there; (7) What will be the harm if the word *vrddhi* is not in this *sūtra*? (8) Whether this *sūtra* is a *vidhi-sūtra* or a *paribhāṣā*.

I

इग्रहणं किमर्थम्? Why is *ik* read (here)?

इग्रहणं आत्सन्ध्यक्षरव्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्

The reading of *ik* is to ward off *guṇa* to *ā*, diphthongs and consonants.

इग्रहणं क्रियते । किं प्रयोजनम्? आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थं व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थं च । आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत्, याता वाता, आकारस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इग्रहणान्न भवति । सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थम्, ग्लायति ग्लायति, सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इग्रहणान्न भवति । व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्, उम्भिता उम्भितुम् उम्भितव्यं, व्यञ्जनस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इग्रहणान्न भवति

The word *ik* is read. What for? To ward off *guṇa* (a) in the place of *ā*, diphthongs and consonants. First as regards the warding off *ā* from being *sthānin* of *guṇa*, *guṇa*

may replace *ā* by the *sūtra* (*Sārvaḍhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*), while the words *yātā* and *vātā* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of *ik*. As regards diphthongs, *guṇa* (*ē*) may replace *āi*, while the words *glāyati* and *mlāyati* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of *ik*. As regards consonants, *guṇa* (*a*) may replace consonants while the words *umbhitā*, *umbhitum*, and *umbhitavyam* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of *ik*.

आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थेन तावन्नार्थः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, यदयम् आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

First it is not to ward off *guṇa* to *ā*. *Ācārya's* procedure suggests that *guṇa* does not replace *ā*, since he reads the *anubandha* 'k', in the *sūtra*—*Ātōnupasargē kaḥ*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka*?

कित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनं विङ्तीत्याकारलोपो यथा स्यात्; यदि चाकारस्य गुणः स्यात् कित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृते द्वयोरकारयोः पररूपेण सिद्धं रूपं स्याद् गोदः कम्बलद इति; पश्यति तु आचार्यो नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, ततः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of *kitkaraṇa*, that *ā* may be elided by the *sūtra* *Kniti*....; if *guṇa* can replace *ā*, *kitkaraṇa* will be of no use; for, in the formation of the word *gōdah*, *go-dā-a* will become *gō-da-a* if *guṇa* replaces *ā*, and then *gō-d-a* if *pararūpa* comes (by the *sūtra* 'Atō guṇē'). So also is *kambalada*. But *Ācārya* sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace *ā* and hence reads the *anubandha* 'k'.

सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नार्थः; उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणो न भविष्यति It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to diphthongs, since *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their being read separately.

व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नार्थः; आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति यदयं जनेर्दं शास्ति

It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to consonants, since the use of *ḍit* by *Ācārya* in the *sūtra* ‘(Saptamyām) janēr ḍaḥ’ suggests that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka* ?

डित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनं, डिति इति टिलोपो यथा स्यात् । यदि च व्यञ्जनस्य गुणः स्याद् डित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कुते त्रयाणामकाराणां पररूपेण सिद्धं रूपं स्याद् उपसरजो मन्दुरज इति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, ततो जनेर्डं शास्ति

The use of *ḍit-karṇa* is that the final syllable may be dropped if it is followed by a *ḍit*. If consonant were to be replaced by *guṇa*, *ḍit-karṇa* will be of no use; for after *guṇa* replaces the consonant, the forms *upasaraḥ* and *manduraḥ*¹ will be got by applying the *sūtra* dealing with *pararūpa* twice. But *Ācārya* sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant and hence uses *ḍit* in the *sūtra* ‘Saptamyām janēr ḍaḥ.’

नैतानि सन्ति ज्ञापकानि । यत्तावदुच्यते कित्करणं ज्ञापकं नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, उत्तरार्थमेतत्स्यात् तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः इति

These are not *jñāpakas*. What was first put forth that *kit-karṇa* in *Ātōnupasargē kaḥ* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace *ā* does not stand; for it is useful in the interpretation of the *sūtra* ‘Tundaśōkayōḥ parimṛjāpanudōḥ.’²

यत्तर्हि गापोष्टक् इत्यनन्यार्थं ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

If so, *kitkarṇa* in the *sūtra* ‘Gāpōṣṭak’ serving no other purpose suggests it.

1. *mandura - jan - a : mandura - jaa - a : manduraja.*

2. *Kit* is useful to prevent *guṇa* in the words *tundaparimṛjaḥ* and *śōkāpanudaḥ*.

यदप्युच्यते उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणो न भवतीति, यदि यद्यत्सन्ध्यक्षरस्य प्राप्नोति तत्तदुपदेशसामर्थ्याद्वाध्यते, आयादयोऽपि तर्हि न प्राप्नुवन्ति

The other point that was put forth that *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their separate *upadēśa*, if acceded, will lead to this:—whatever takes place to diphthongs, it will be warded off by the separate *upadēśa* and hence (the *ādēśa*) *āy* etc. cannot function.

नैष दोषः ; यं विधिं प्रत्युपदेशोऽनर्थकः स विधिर्वाध्यते, यस्य तु विधेर्निमित्तमेव नासौ बाध्यते, गुणं च प्रत्युपदेशोऽनर्थकः आयादीनां पुनर्निमित्तमेव

This (objection) cannot stand ; for the *vidhi* in respect of which *upadēśa* is of no use is warded off and that in respect of which it is only *nimitta*, it is not warded off ; in respect of *guṇa*, it is of no use and in respect of *āy* etc., it is only *nimitta*.

यदप्युच्यते जनेर्बवचनं ज्ञापकं न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, सिद्धे विधिरारम्भमाणो ज्ञापकार्थो भवति, न च जनेर्गुणेन सिध्यति । कुतो ह्येतत् जनेर्गुण उच्यमानोऽकारो भवति न पुनरेकारो वा स्यादोकारो वेति ?

The third point that *dit* in *janēr dah* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace consonant does not stand ; for a *vidhi*, only when it is proved to be of no use, is taken to be *jñāpaka* and the desired form is not obtained by replacing *n* in *jan* by *guṇa*. How is it that, when it is taken that *guṇa* replaces *n* in *jan*, it should be only *a* and not *ē* or *ō* ?

आन्तर्यतोऽर्धमात्रिकस्य व्यञ्जनस्य मात्रिकोऽकारो भविष्यति

By closer similarity the consonant having half a *mātrā* is replaced by *a* which has one *mātrā*.

एवमप्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति If so, the nasalised *a* may appear.

पररूपेण शुद्धो भविष्यति

It becomes non-nasalised by *para-rūpa* (since the *a* that follows it is a non-nasalised one.)

एवं तर्हि गमेरप्ययं डो वक्तव्यः, गमेश्च गुण उच्यमान आन्तर्यतः ओकारः प्राप्नोति । तस्मादिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, this *dit* should be read for *gam* also ; ¹ for if it is said that *guṇa* replaces *m* in *gam*, *ō* will replace it by closer similarity ². Hence *ik* should be read in this *sūtra*.

From the foregoing part it may be clear that, according to the *pūrvapakṣa*, *ikaḥ* need not be read here and so the two *sūtras*—*Ikō guṇavrddhī* and *Na dhātulōpa ārdhadhātukē* may be read together. The *siddhānta* says that the word *ikaḥ* is needed here to prevent *ō* replacing *m* in *gam* and hence *Ikō guṇavrddhī* should be read as a separate *sūtra*.

II

यदि इग्रहणं क्रियते द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, इमम् इत्येतेऽपि इकः प्रामुवन्ति

If the word *ik* is read in the *sūtra*, *āu* etc. (enjoined by the *sūtras* *Diva āut*, *Pathi-mathi-rbhukṣām-āt*, *T'yad-ādīnām aḥ*) to form the words *dyāuḥ*, *panthāḥ*, *saḥ*, *imam* will replace only *ik* ³.

संज्ञया विधाने नियमः

Restriction on the injunction with the *saṃjñā*.

संज्ञया ये विधीयन्ते तेषु नियमः

Only those which are enjoined with the appellation *guṇa* or *vrddhi* come under this *sūtra*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ? Is there any need for this to be said ?

न हि No, certainly not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How can it be understood if it is not so said ?

गुणवृद्धिग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्

On account of the significance of having read *guṇavrddhī* in this *sūtra*.

कथं पुनरन्तरेण गुणवृद्धिग्रहणम् इको गुणवृद्धी स्याताम् ?

1. After the *sūtra*—*Saptamyām janēr dah* (III, 2, 97), the *sūtra* *Anyēsvapi drśyatē* (III 2, 10) is read. If the root *gam* is taken under the word *anya*, this answer holds good.

2. Similarity referred to here is that both are labials.

3. Since *ā*, *āu* and *a* are either *vrddhi* or *guṇa* letter, this *pūrvapakṣa* arose.

How then can *guṇa* and *vrddhi* replace *ik* if the expression *guṇavrddhī* is not read here?

प्रकृतं गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते

The expression *guṇavrddhī* read before is taken here.

क प्रकृतम्? ¹ Where is it read before?

वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुण इति

In the *sūtras*—*Vṛddhir ādāic* and *Adēṇ guṇaḥ*.

यदि तदनुवर्तते अदेङ्गुणो वृद्धिश्च इत्यदेङां वृद्धिसंज्ञापि प्राप्नोति

If it (*vrddhiḥ*) follows from the first *sūtra*, the second *sūtra* will have to be read as *Adēṇ guṇaḥ vrddhiś ca* so that *a*, *ē* and *ō* will get the appellation *vrddhi* also. ²

संबन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते । वृद्धिरादैच् अदेङ्गुणः वृद्धिरादैच् तत इको गुणवृद्धी इति, गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते, आदैजदेङ्गुणं निवृत्तम्

Connected element ³ follows thus—*vrddhirādāic*, *adēṇ guṇaḥ vrddhirādāic, ikō guṇavrddhī*. Then the expression *guṇavrddhī* is taken and the expression *ādāijadēṇ* is made to recede.

अथवा मण्डूकगतयोऽधिकाराः, यथा मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति, तद्वदधिकाराः

Or *anuvṛttis* are like frog-leap. As frogs skip over intermediate things, so are *adhikāras*. ⁴

अथवा एकयोगः करिष्यते वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुणः, तत इको गुणवृद्धी इति, न चैकयोगेऽनुवृत्तिर्भवति

Or the first two *sūtras* are made into one as *Vṛddhir-ādāij-adēṇ guṇaḥ*. Then is read *Ikō guṇavrddhī*. There is no *anuvṛtti* within one and the same *sūtra*.

1. The objection raised here is that, tho' *vrddhiḥ* and *guṇaḥ* have been already read, the compound *guṇavrddhī* has not been read.

2. This statement is based on the assumption that a word in the first *sūtra* cannot be supplied in the third unless it is taken to follow in the second.

3. *Vṛddhi* connected with its *sanjñā* is taken to follow.

4. This suggests that the word *vrddhi* may be made to follow in the third *sūtra* without passing through the second.

अथवा अन्यवचनात् चकाराकरणाच्च प्रकृतापवादो विज्ञायते, यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको भवति

Or on account of giving another *saṃjñā* and the absence of *ca*, it is understood to be an exception to what has been said before, in the same way as a special rule prevents the application of a general rule.

अन्यस्याः संज्ञायाः वचनात् चकारस्य चानुकर्षणार्थस्य अकरणात् प्रकृताया वृद्धिसंज्ञाया गुणसंज्ञा बाधिका भविष्यति, यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको भवति ¹ Since another appellation is given, and since the word *ca* which denotes grammatical attraction is not read, *guṇa-saṃjñā* sets aside the *vrddhi-saṃjñā* mentioned first, in the same way as a special rule sets aside what will, otherwise, happen by the general rule.

अथवा वक्ष्यतेतत् अनुवर्तन्ते च नाम विधयः, न चानुवर्तनादेव भवन्ति । किं ताह ? ² यत्नाद्भवन्ति इति

Or he is going to say this—that, though rules have the capacity to be supplied later on, they do not do so only on account of it. By what then ? By the effort.

अथवा उभयं निवृत्तम्, तदपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or both ³ are not taken by *anuvṛtti*, but we take them by *adhyāhāra*.

It may be noted here that the *anuvṛtti* of the words *vrddhi* and *guṇa* is dealt with in seven ways. First the word *vrddhi* is taken to the third *sūtra* through the second. The objection raised therein was that *a*, *ē* & *ō* will get the appellation of *vrddhi* also. (2) It was met by the statement that the word *vrddhi* alone is not taken to the second, but *vrddhi* attached to *ādāic*. The defect here is how *ādāic* alone was made to recede. (3) Then the principle of 'Frog-leap' was applied. Recourse is taken to it only in cases where there is no other go. (4) Hence he wishes to take the *sūtras* one and two as one.

1. This is *vivaraṇabhāṣya* to the previous one.

2. Cf. *Akartavyatvaviśiṣṭapunarṇaḥ* *guṇavṛddhigrahaṇam yatnaḥ* (*Uddyōta*).

3. Both refers to *guṇa* and *vrddhi*.

It was so done on the idea that there will be no *anuvṛtti* in one and the same *sūtra*. But sometimes it is seen that there is *anuvṛtti* even in one and the same *sūtra*. (5) Hence he takes recourse to the point that the appellation *guṇa* serves as an *apavāda* to the appellation *vrddhi* to *a*, *ē* and *ō*. The defect here is this:—The *uddēśya* in the *apavādasūtra* is that which is otherwise qualified to be the *uddēśya* in the *utsarga-sūtra*. Here the *uddēśya* of the *utsarga* is *ādāic* and that of the *apavāda* is *adēn*. (6) Then he says that *yatna* and not *anuvṛtti* alone serves the purpose. Here the defect is this:—The expression *guṇavrddhī* in the third *sūtra* suggests that the expression supplied from the previous two *sūtras* is *saṃjñāpara* and that suggests that this is *arthapara*. (7) Hence the author takes recourse to the practice found in the world that we take in only those that we want.

III & IV

किं पुनरयमलोऽन्त्यशेषः, आहोस्विदलोऽन्त्यापवादः?

Is this *sūtra* *alōntyasēṣa* or *alōntyāpavāda*: (i.e.) Do this *sūtra* and the *sūtra* '*Alōntyasya*' form a whole sentence, one serving as part of another or are they antagonistic to each other?¹

कथं चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, कथं वा तदपवादः?

How is this *sūtra* *tacchēṣa*² or how is it *tadapavāda*?

यद्येकं वाक्यं—तच्च इदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवति, इको गुणवृद्धी अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति—ततोऽयं तच्छेषः । अथ नाना वाक्यं—तच्च इदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, इको गुणवृद्धी अन्त्यस्य चानन्त्यस्य च इति—ततोऽयं तदपवादः

If they are one sentence—*vidhis* happen to the final *al* and the *guṇa* and *vrddhi* happen to the *ik* which is the final *al*—this *sūtra* is *tacchēṣa*. If they are different sentences—*vidhis*

1. In the interpretation of the *sūtra* *Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* there is *anuvṛtti* of *āngasya* and *guṇaḥ*. Since the former is in the genitive case, *alōntyasya* appears on the scene. By the mention of the latter, *ikaḥ* appears on the scene. Hence arises this doubt.

2. The word *tacchēṣaḥ* may be taken here as *bahuvrihi* and *tatpuruṣa*. *Śēṣa-śēṣi-bhāva* is here *paricchēdya-paricchēdaka-bhāva*.

happen to the final *al* and *guṇa* and *vrddhi* happen to *ik* which is both final and non-final, it is *tadapavāda*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः? What is the difference here?

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेन्मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिदृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्रहणम्
If *guṇa* and *vrddhi* are taken to happen to the final *al*, the word *ik* has to be read where *guṇa* or *vrddhi* is enjoined to *mid*, *mrj*, *pugantalaghūpadha*, *recc*, *drś*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra*.

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेत् मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिदृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । मिदेर्गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; मृजेवृद्धिः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; पुगन्तलघूपधस्य गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; ऋच्छेर्लिटि गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; ऋदृशोऽङि गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; क्षिप्रक्षुद्रेर्गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति

If it is taken that *guṇa* and *vrddhi* happen only to the final *al*, the word *ik* has to be read where *guṇa* or *vrddhi* is enjoined to *mid*, *mrj*, *pugantalaghūpadha*, *recc*, *drś*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra*; *midēr guṇah*, *ikah* should be added, for *i* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *mrjērvrddhiḥ*, *ikah* should be added, for *r* cannot be replaced by *vrddhi* since it is not final; *pugantalaghūpadhasya guṇah*, *ikah* should be added, for it cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *reccēr liṭi guṇah*, *ikah* should be added; for *r* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *drśōṇi guṇah*, *ikah* should be added, for it cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *kṣiprakṣudrayōr guṇah*, *ikah* should be added, for *i* or *u* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final.

सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गश्चानिगन्तस्य

Possibility of *sarvādeśa* to the *aṅgas* which do not end in *ik*.

सर्वादेशश्च गुणोऽनिगन्तस्य प्राप्नोति, याता वाता

Guṇa will replace the whole, if the *aṅga* does not end in *ik*, as in *yātā*, *vātā*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति षष्ठी चैव ह्यन्त्यमिकमुपसंक्रान्ता, अङ्गस्येति च स्थानषष्ठी ।
तद्यदिदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तस्य गुणः सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति

The genetive mentioned in *alōntyasya* goes with the final *ik*. The genetive in *aṅgasya* is *sthānaśaṣṭhī*. Hence if *guṇa* is enjoined to an *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*, it should replace the whole of it.

नैष दोषः । यथैव ह्यलोऽन्त्यस्येति षष्ठी अन्त्यमिकमुपसंक्रान्ता एवमङ्गस्येत्यपि स्थानषष्ठी, तद्यदिदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तत्र षष्ठ्येव नास्ति । कुतो गुणः कुतः सर्वादेशः ?

The objection does not stand. Just as the genetive mentioned in *alōntyasya* goes with the final *ik*, so also is *sthānaśaṣṭhī* in *aṅgasya*; for there is no genetive in the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*. Hence where is the possibility of *guṇa* or *sarvādēśa* ?

एवं तर्हि नायं दोषसमुच्चयः

If so, they are not two coordinate defects.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

पूर्वापेक्षोऽयं दोषः ; ह्यर्थे चायं चः पठितः । मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छि-
दृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्रहणं सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गो ह्यनिगन्तस्येति

The second is subordinate to the first; the word *ca* is read in the sense of *hi*. *Ik* should be read in the *sūtras*—*midēr guṇaḥ* etc; for the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik* will be wholly replaced by *ādēśa*.

मिदेर्गुणः, इक इति वचनादन्त्यस्य न, अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति वचनादिको न,
उच्यते च गुणः, स सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति, एवं सर्वत्र

The *sūtra*, '*Midēr guṇaḥ*'—by the *sūtra* '*Ikō guṇavṛddhī*' *guṇa* does not replace the final; by the *sūtra* '*Alōntyasya*,' it does not replace *ik*. But *guṇa* is enjoined and hence it should be a *sarvādēśa*. So also elsewhere.

अस्तु तर्हि तदपवादः If so, let it be *tad-apavāda*.

इद्भात्रस्येति चेज्जुसिसार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योगुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधः

If it is for all *ik*, prohibition of *guṇa* to the *ik* that is not final enjoined before *jus* of *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukahrasva* etc.

इच्छात्रस्येति चेत् जुसिसार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योगुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।
जुसि गुणः, स यथेह भवति अजुहवुः अविभयुः इति, एवम् अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः
 इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । **सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोगुणः**, स यथेह भवति कर्ता हर्ता नयति
 तरति इति, एवम् ईहिता ईहितुम् ईहितव्यम् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । **ह्रस्वस्य गुणः**,
 स यथेह भवति हे अग्ने हे वायो इति, एवं हे अग्निचित् हे सोमसुद् इत्यत्रापि
 प्राप्नोति । **जसि गुणः**, स यथेह भवति अग्नयः वायवः इति, एवम् अग्निचितः
 सोमसुतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । **ऋतो ङि सर्वनामस्थानयोगुणः**, स यथेह भवति कर्तरि
 कर्तारौ कर्तारः इति, एवं सुकृति सुकृतौ सुकृतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । **घेङिति**
गुणः, स यथेह भवति अग्नये वायवे इति, एवम् अग्निचिते सोमसुते इत्यत्रापि
 प्राप्नोति । **ओर्गुणः**, स यथेह भवति वाभ्रव्यः माण्डव्यः इति, एवं सुश्रुत् सौश्रुतः
 इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

As *guṇa* occurs in *ajuhavuh*, *abibhayuh* etc. by the application of the *sūtra* 'Jusi ca' so also will it occur in *anēnijuh*, *pariyavēviṣuh* etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *kartā*, *hartā*, *nayati* and *tarati* by the application of the *sūtra* 'Sārvadhātukārddha-dhātukayōḥ,' so also will it occur in *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*. As *guṇa* occurs in *agnē*, *vāyō* by the application of the *sūtra* 'Hrasvasya guṇaḥ,' so also will it occur in the vocatives *agnicit*, *sōmasut* etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *agnayah*, *vāyavaḥ* etc. by the application of the *sūtra* 'Jasi ca,' so also will it occur in *agnicitaḥ*, *sōmasutaḥ* etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *kartari*, *kartārāu*, *kartāraḥ* etc. by the application of *Rtō ñi sarvanāma-sthānayōḥ* so also will it occur in *sukṛti*, *sukṛtāu* and *sukṛtaḥ*. As *guṇa* occurs in *bābhravyaḥ*, *māṇḍavyaḥ* etc., by 'Or guṇaḥ' so also will it occur in *sāuśrutaḥ* derived from *suśrut*.

नैष दोषः This objection cannot stand.

पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थम्

The expression *pugantalughūpadha* is to restrict the cases of *ik* which are not final.

पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थं भविष्यति — पुगन्तलघूपधस्यैवानन्त्यस्य नान्यस्यानन्त्यस्येति

The expression *pugantālaghūpadha* is to restrict (their application to *ik* which is not final) (*i.e.*) to restrict it only to such *anantya iks* as are *pugantālaghūpadha*.

प्रकृतस्यैव नियमः स्यात् ¹

The *niyama* will be only to that already mentioned.

किं च प्रकृतम्?

What is it that has been already mentioned?

सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरिति । तेन भवेदिह नियमान्न स्याद् ईहिता ईहितुं ईहितव्यम् इति, ह्रस्वाद्योर्गुणस्त्वनियतः सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति

The *sūtra* 'Sārvadhātukārdhdhātukayōḥ.' Therefore prohibition of *guṇa* will occur by the *niyama* in the cases of *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*; but not in the cases which come under the operation of the *sūtras* like *Hrasvasya guṇaḥ*; and hence the *guṇa* will occur there to *ik* which is not final also.

अथाप्येवं नियमः स्यात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्य सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेवेति एवमपि सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणोऽनियतः सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति, ईहिता, ईहितुम्, ईहितव्यम् इति

If the *niyama* is taken in this form that *guṇa* will occur to *pugantālaghūpadha* only when *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* follow, the *guṇa* enjoined by the *sūtra* 'Sārvadhātukārdhdhātukayōḥ' will become unrestricted, so that it will occur to *anantya ik* in *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*.

अथाप्युभयतो नियमः स्यात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्यैव सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेव पुगन्तलघूपधस्य इति, एवमप्ययं जुसि गुणः अनियतः, सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इति

If the *niyama* is done both ways *pugantālaghūpadhasyāiva sārvadhātukārdhdhātukayōḥ* and *sārvadhātukār-dhadhātukayōr ēva pugantālaghūpadhasya*, even then the *guṇa* enjoined by *Jusi ca* becomes *aniyata*, so that *guṇa* will occur in *anēniḥ*, *pariyavēviṣuḥ* etc.

1. *Prakṛtasyāiṣa niyamah syāt* is another reading.

एवं तर्हि नायं तच्छेषः नापि तदपवादः । अन्यदेवेदं परिभाषान्तरमसंबद्ध-
मनया परिभाषया

If so, this is neither *tacchēṣa* nor *tadapavāda*, but a different *paribhāṣā* not at all connected with it (*Alōntyasya*.)

V

परिभाषान्तरमिति च मत्वा क्रोष्टीयाः पठन्ति—¹ नियमादिको गुणवृद्धी
भवतो ² विप्रतिषेधेन इति

Thinking that it is another *paribhāṣā*, *krōṣṭrīyas* read that the *sūtra* 'Ikō guṇavrddhī' operates against *Alōntyasya* by *pūrvavipratīṣēdha*.³

यदि चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, तेनैव तस्यायुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः; अथापि तदपवादः,
उत्सर्गापवादयोरप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः । तत्र नियमस्यावकाशः राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्,
इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यावकाशः चयनं चायको लवनं लावकः इति । ईहोभयं प्राप्नोति
मेघति मार्ष्टि इति, इको गुणवृद्धी इत्येतद्वदिति विप्रतिषेधेन

If it is *tacchēṣa*, there is no occasion for *vipratīṣēdha*; or if it is *todapavāda*, then too there is no occasion for *vipratīṣēdha* between general rules and exceptions. Of them *Alōntyasya* operates when the word *rājakīyam* is formed by the *sūtra* 'Rājñah ka ca' and *Ikō guṇavrddhī* operates when the words *cayanam*, *cāyakaḥ*, *lavanam*, *lāvakaḥ* etc. are formed. While the words *mēdyati* and *mārṣṭi* are formed, both begin to operate; but *Ikō guṇavrddhī* operates prohibiting the latter.

नैष युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्युच्यते, पूर्वश्चायं योगः, परो नियमः
This *vipratīṣēdha* is not sound: for it is said that, in conflict between two rules, the latter prohibits the former and this *sūtra* is the former and *Alōntyasya* is the latter.

1. *Niyama* is the name to the *sūtra* 'Alōntyasya' given by the previous grammarians.

2. It is worthwhile to see if there is another reading *bhavati*.

3. It means the conflict between two *sūtras* where the former prohibits the latter.

इष्टवाची परशब्दः, विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तद्वति इति

The word *para* means the *needed one*. In conflict, that which is needed operates.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, द्विकार्ययोगो हि विप्रतिषेधः, न चात्रैको द्विकार्ययुक्तः ।

Even then the *vipratīṣedha* is not sound; for there is occasion for *vipratīṣedha* only if one thing is to be operated upon by two *sūtras* and here there is none which is to be operated by two.

नावश्यं द्विकार्ययोग एव विप्रतिषेधः

Vipratīṣedha does not invariably occur when one alone is to be operated by two.

किं तर्हि? What then?

असम्भवोऽपि; स चास्त्यत्रासंभवः

Non-happening too; that *asambhava* is found here.

कोऽसावसंभवः? What is that *asambhava*?

इह तावद् वृक्षेभ्यः प्लक्षेभ्यः इति एकः स्थानी द्वावादेशौ, न चास्ति सम्भवः यदेकस्य स्थानिनो द्वावादेशौ स्याताम्; इहेदानीं मेद्यति मेद्यतः मेद्यन्ति इति द्वौ स्थानिनौ एक आदेशः, न चास्ति संभवः यत् द्वयोः स्थानिनोरेक आदेशः स्याद् इति; एष असंभवः, सत्येतस्मिन्नसंभवे युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः

At first in the examples *vrkṣēbhyaḥ* and *plakṣēbhyaḥ* there is one *sthānin* and two *ādēśas* and it cannot be that one *sthānin* has two *ādēśas*; on the other hand, in the examples *mēdyati*, *mēdyataḥ* and *mēdyanti* there are two *sthānins* and one *ādēśa* and it cannot be that two *sthānins* can have one *ādēśa*; this is *asambhava* and when there is this *asambhava* *vipratīṣedha* can fit in.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, द्वयोर्हि सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोर्विप्रतिषेधो भवति, अनवकाशश्चायं योगः

Even then *vipratīṣedha* cannot fit in; for there is opportunity for *vipratīṣedha* only when the two *sūtras* have room to operate elsewhere; and this *sūtra* has nowhere else to operate.

ननु च इदानीमेवासावकाशः प्रकृतः चयनं चायको लवनं लावक इति?

Is it not then that its operation is settled in the cases of *cāyanam*, *cāyakah*, *lavanam*, and *lāvakah*?

अत्रापि नियमः प्राप्नोति

Even here '*Alōntyasya*' begins to operate.

नाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरभ्यते

This *sūtra* is read when '*alōntyasya*' invariably begins to operate.

यावता च नाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरभ्यते, ततस्तस्य अपवादोऽयं योगो भवति । उत्सर्गपिवादयोश्च अयुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः

If, then, this *sūtra* is read when *Alōntyasya* begins to operate, this becomes its *apavāda* and there is no *vipratīṣēdha* between *utsarga* and *apavāda*.

अथापि कथंचिद् इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यावकाशः स्यात्, एवमपि यथेह विप्रतिषेधादिको गुणो भवति मेद्यति मेद्यतः मेद्यन्ति इति, एवमिहापि स्याद् अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इति

Even if, with difficulty, room is found for *Ikō guṇavrddhī* to operate, *guṇa* will appear by *vipratīṣēdha* in *anēnijuh* and *parya-vēviṣuḥ* in the same way as it appears in *mēdyati*, *mēdyataḥ*, and *mēdyanti*.

VI

एवं तर्हि वृद्धिर्भवति गुणो भवति इति यत्र ब्रूयाद् इक् इत्येतत्तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम्
If so, whenever it is said that *vrddhi* appears, and *guṇa* appears, one should take that the word *ikah* presents itself.

किं कृतं भवति? What happens then?

द्वितीया षष्ठी प्रादुर्भाव्यते । तत्र कामचारः गृह्यमाणेन वेकं विशेषयितुम् इका वा गृह्यमाणम् । यावता कामचारः, इह तावन्मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधार्च्छदृशि-क्षिप्रक्षुद्रेषु गृह्यमाणेनेकं विशेषयिष्यामः एतेषां य इक् इति; इहेदानीं जुसि-सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योर्गुणेष्विका गृह्यमाणं विशेषयिष्यामः, एतेषां गुणो भवति इक्: इगन्तानाम् इति

Another word in the genitive case appears. It is our pleasure to take it as an adjunct to the already existing word in the genitive case or to take the latter qualifying *ikah*. Since it is

our pleasure, we take the word in the genitive case to qualify *ikaḥ* in the case of *midimṛṣipuganta-laghūpadharccchidrśikṣi-prakṣudra* and in the case of '*jusi sāravadhātukārdhadhātukahrāsūdi* we allow the word to be qualified by *ikaḥ-guṇa* replaces these which are *iganta*.

Having dealt with the six topics *Mahābhāṣyakāra* tries in a way to meet the objections raised in *tacchēṣapakṣa*.

अथवा सर्वत्रैवात्र स्थानी निर्दिश्यते । इह तावन्मिदेरित्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः—
मिद् एः मिदेरिति ; अथवा षष्ठीसमासो भविष्यति—मिद् इः मिदिः मिदेरिति ।
पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति, नैवं विज्ञायते पुगन्ताङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य चेति ; कथं तर्हि ? पुकि
अन्तः पुगन्तः, लघ्वी उपधा लघूपधा, पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च पुगन्तलघूपधं पुगन्तलघू-
पधस्येति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् अङ्गविशेषणे सतीह प्रसज्येत भिनत्ति छिनत्ति
इति । ऋच्छेरपि प्रलिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् ऋच्छति ऋ ऋ ऋताम् ऋच्छत्युतामिति ।
दृशेरपि योगविभागः करिष्यते उरङि गुणः उः अङि गुणो भवति, ततो दृशेः,
दृशेश्च अङि गुणो भवति, उरित्येव, क्षिप्रक्षुद्रयोरपि यणादिपरं गुणः इतीयता सिद्धम् ।
सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पूर्वग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् इको यथा स्यादनिको
मा भूदिति

Or in all these places *sthānin* is mentioned. First in the *sūtra*—*Midēr guṇaḥ* the word *midēh* is made up of two words *mid* and *ēh* where *mid* is in the genitive case without the case-suffix : or it is the genitive of *midih* which is a *ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*. The *sūtra* — *Pugantalaghūpadhasya* is not interpreted as *pugantāṅgasya* and *laghūpadhasya*. How then ? It is taken as the genitive of *pugantalaghūpadham* which is a *dvandva* compound made up of *pugantaḥ* and *laghūpadhā* which are respectively split as *puki antaḥ* and *laghvī upadhā*. This needs be said ; for otherwise *guṇ* will appear in the words *bhinatti* and *chinatti*. In the *sūtra* — *Ṛcchatyṛtām* *ṛ* is separately mentioned so that it may be split as *ṛcchati*, *ṛ*, *ṛ*, *ṛtām*. As regards *Rdṛsōṇi guṇaḥ*, it is split into two *sūtras*, *uraṇi guṇaḥ* and *drśaḥ*, so that *guṇa* replaces *ṛ* when it is followed by *aṇ* and *guṇa* replaces *ṛ* of *drś* when it is followed by *aṇ*. With respect to *kṣiprakṣudra*, since, though the desired object is won

by reading the word *guṇaḥ* after the word *yaṇādiparam* in the *sūtra*—*Sthūla - dūra - yuva - hrasva - kṣipra - kṣudrāṇām yaṇādiparam pūrvasya ca guṇaḥ*, he needs the word *pūrva*, it has this *prayōjana* that *guṇa* replaces *ik* and does not replace *anik*. Hence it must be noted that nothing has been said about *Mrjēr vrddhiḥ* and the *sūtra*—*Rdṛsōṇi guṇaḥ* is split in a different order. Hence this topic is intended only to serve as a supplementary discussion to try whether *tacchēśapakṣa* can stand.

VII

अथ वृद्धिग्रहणं किमर्थम्? Why is the word *vrddhi* read?

किं विशेषेण वृद्धिग्रहणं चोद्यते न पुनर्गुणग्रहणमपि? यदि किञ्चिद् गुणग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनमस्ति वृद्धिग्रहणस्यापि तद्वदितुमर्हति । को वा विशेषः?

Why is the reading of the word *vrddhi* particularly questioned and not that of *guṇa* too? If there is any use in the reading of *guṇa*, the same may be for *vrddhi*. What is the speciality here?

अयमस्ति विशेषः—गुणविधौ न कश्चित् स्थानी निर्दिश्यते, तत्रावश्यं स्थानी निर्देशार्थं गुणग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्; वृद्धिविधौ पुनः सर्वत्रैव स्थानी निर्दिश्यते—अचो ङिति, अत उपधायाः, तद्धितेष्वचामादेः—इति

There is this speciality that nowhere is *sthānin* read in *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and hence there is the need to read the word *guṇa* to determine the *sthānin* and that, on the other hand, everywhere is *sthānin* read in *sūtras* enjoining *vrddhi* viz. *Acōṇṇiti*, *Ata upadhāyāḥ*, *Taddhitēṣvacām ādēḥ*.

अत उत्तरं पठति Hence he gives the reply.

वृद्धिग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम् Reading of *vrddhi* is for what follows.

वृद्धिग्रहणं क्रियते; किमर्थम्?

The word *vrddhi* is read. What for?

उत्तरार्थम्¹ For what follows.

विडति प्रतिषेधं वक्ष्यति, स वृद्धेरपि यथा स्यात्

1. Here *uttara* refers to the *sūtra* 'Kniti ca'

So that the prohibition which he is going to enjoin when the following *pratyaya* is *kit* or *nit* may apply to *vrddhi* also.

कश्चेदानीं विङ्त्प्रत्ययेषु वृद्धेः प्रसङ्गः, यावता ङितीत्युच्यते?

Where is the possibility for *vrddhi* to appear when the *kit* and *nit* *pratyayas* follow, since it appears only when the *nit* and *nit* *pratyayas* follow?

¹ तच्च मृज्यर्थम् That too is for the sake of *mrj*.

मृजेवृद्धिरविशेषणोच्यते सा विङ्ति मा भूद् मृष्टः मृष्टवान् इति

Vrddhi that is generally enjoined to *mrj* may not take place when it is followed by *kit-pratyaya* and *nit-pratyaya* as in *mrṣṭah* and *mrṣṭavān*.

² इहार्थं चापि For here also.

इहार्थं चापि मृज्यर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । मृजेवृद्धिरविशेषणोच्यते, सा इको यथा स्याद् अनिको ³ मा भूद् इति

The word *vrddhi* should be read for the sake of this *sūtra* also to enable the formation of words from *mrj*, so that the *vrddhi* that is enjoined to *mrj* as a whole without specifying the part to be replaced by it, may replace *ik* and not an *anik*.

मृज्यर्थमिति चेद्योगविभागात्सिद्धम्

If it is for the sake of *mrj*, the end is achieved by *yōgavibhāga*.

मृज्यर्थमिति चेद् योगविभागः करिष्यते — मृजेवृद्धिरचः, ततः ङिति; ङिति णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति, अच इत्येव

If it is for the sake of *mrj*, the *sūtras* (*Mrjēr vrddhiḥ* and *Acō ṇṇiti*) are split in a different way—*Mrjēr vrddhir acaḥ* and then *Ṇṇiti*. *Vrddhi* appears when the following *pratyaya* is *nit* or *nit* and it replaces only an *ac*.

यद्यचो वृद्धिरुच्यते, न्यमार्द् अटोऽपि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति

If *vrddhi* is said to replace *ac*, it may replace *aṭ* also in *nyamāṛṭ*.

1. *Tat* refers to the previous *vārttika*.
2. *Iha* refers to the *sūtra* 'Ikō guṇavṛddhi.'
3. *Anik* refers to the final consonant since *Alōntyasya* may operate.

अटि चोक्तम्¹ It has been said in the case of *aṭ*.

किमुक्तम्? What has been said?

अनन्त्यविकारे अन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवति इति

If substitution comes to a non-final element, it will come to that which is nearer the final.

वृद्धिप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिस्त्विक्प्रकरणात् (तस्मादिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः)

In that case *vrddhi*—*pratisēdha* won't fit in and hence *vrddhi* should be enjoined to *ik*.

वृद्धेस्तु प्रतिषेधो नोपपद्यते

The prohibition of *vrddhi* (in *mṛṣṭa* etc.) won't apply.

किं कारणम्? Why?

इक्प्रकरणात्; इग्लक्षणयोरुणवृद्धयोः प्रतिषेधः

(It is so) since the prohibition is only for that enjoined to *ik*; the prohibition is only to such *guṇa* and *vrddhi* as could replace an *ik*.

न चैवं सति मृजेरिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिर्भवति

If so, *vrddhi* will not replace *ik* in *mṛj*.

तस्मान्मृजेरिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिरेषितव्या

Hence we should try to get in *mṛj*, the *vrddhi* enjoined with the term *ik*.

एवं तर्हि, इहान्ये वैयाकरणा मृजेरजादौ सङ्क्रमे² विभाषा वृद्धिमारभन्ते परि-
मृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिमृजन्तु परिमार्जन्तु परिममृजतुः परिममार्जतुः इत्याद्यर्थम्;
तदिहापि साध्यम्, तस्मिन् साध्ये योगविभागः करिष्यते मृजेवृद्धिरचः भवति; ततः
अचि किञ्चति, अजादौ च किञ्चति मृजेवृद्धिर्भवति, परिमार्जन्तु परिममार्जतुः । किमर्थ-
मिदम्? नियमार्थम्, अजादावेव किञ्चति नान्यत्र । कान्यत्र मा भूत्? मृष्टः मृष्टवान्
इति । ततो वा, वा अचि किञ्चति मृजेवृद्धिर्भवति परिमृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिममृजतुः
परिममार्जतुः इति

1. I am not certain that this is a *vārttika* though it is found to be so in some editions.

2. *Saikrama* is the *sanjñā* of old grammarians denoting *kit* and *nit*.

If so, other grammarians wish *vrddhi* optionally for *mṛj* when it is followed by *kit* and *ñit* viz. *parimṛjanti*, *parimārjanti*, *parimṛjantu*, *parimārjantu*, *parimṛjatuḥ*, *parimamārjatuḥ*. The same is wanted here also and hence the *sūtra* - *split* is done in this way—'*mṛjērvrddhiracaḥ*' and then '*aci kñiti*', which means that *mṛj* takes *vrddhi* when it is followed by a *kit* or *ñit* beginning with a vowel. viz. *parimārjanti*, *parimārjantu*, *parimamārjatuḥ*. What is this for? For the sake of *niyama*, so that it takes place only in those places where *kit* or *ñit* begins with a vowel and not in other places. What are those places where it should not be? They are *mṛṣṭaḥ* and *mṛṣṭavān*. Then the *sūtra* '*Vā*' is read, which means that *mṛj* takes *vrddhi* optionally when it is followed by a *kit* or *ñit* beginning with a vowel, viz. *parimṛjanti*, *parimārjanti*, *parimamṛjatuḥ*, *parimamārjatuḥ*.

इहार्थमेव तर्हि सिजर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषणोच्यते सेको यथा स्याद् अनिको मा भूद् इति

If so *vrddhi* should be read for the sake of this *sūtra* on behalf of *sic* so that the *vrddhi* that is enjoined before *sic* may replace an *ik* and not an *anik*,

कस्य पुनरनिकः प्राप्नोति ?

For which *anik* is there the possibility to be replaced by *vrddhi* ?

अकारस्य, अचिकीर्षीत् अजिहीर्षीत्

For *ākāra* ; viz. *acikīrṣīt*, *ajihīrṣīt*.¹

नैतदस्ति, लोपोऽल बाधको भवति

No, the *lōpa* enjoined (by *Atō lōpaḥ*) prevents its operation.

आकारस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अयासीत् अवासीत्

If so, there is that possibility for *ākāra* viz. *ayāsīt*, *avāsīt*.

नास्त्यत्र विशेषः, सत्यां वृद्धावसत्यां वा

Here is no difference whether there is *vrddhi* or not.

1. In *acikīrṣa*—*it*, *a* is dropped by *Atō lōpaḥ*.

सन्ध्यक्षरस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति

If so, there is that possibility for diphthongs.

नैव सन्ध्यक्षरमन्त्यमस्ति There is no diphthong which is final.

ननु चेदमस्ति ढलोपे कृते उदवोढम्, उदवोढाम्, उदवोढ इति !

Oh, here it is when ढ् is elided viz. *udavōḍham*, *udavōḍhām* and *udavōḍha* !

नैतदस्ति, असिद्धो ढलोपः, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् नैतदन्त्यं भवति

No, it is not; *ḍhalōpa* is taken to be non-existing; since it is *asiddha*, diphthong is not the final letter.

व्यञ्जनस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अभैत्सीत्, अच्छैत्सीत्

If so, there is that possibility for consonants—*abhāitsīt*, *acchāitsīt*.

हलन्तलक्षणा ¹ वृद्धिर्वाधिका भविष्यति

Vṛddhi that is enjoined to the vowel of the *aṅgas* that end in consonants prevents its operation.

यत् तर्हि सा प्रतिषिध्यते, नेटि इति अकोषीत् अमोषीत्

(What do you say) where it is prohibited by the *sūtra*—*Nēṭi* as in *akōṣīt*, *amōṣīt* ?

सिचि वृद्धेरप्येष प्रतिषेधः

This is the prohibitive rule also for the *sūtra* *Sici vṛddhiḥ*....

कथम् ? How ?

लक्षणं हि नाम ध्वनति, भ्रमति, मुहूर्तमपि नावतिष्ठते

For *niṣēdha* suggests vaguely, wanders everywhere and does not stand still even for a moment.

अथवा सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु इति सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति, तस्या हलन्त-लक्षणा वृद्धिर्वाधिका, तस्या अपि नेटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Or *vṛddhi* before *sic* is enjoined by the *sūtra*—*Sici vṛddhiḥ parasmāipadēṣu*; it has its *apavāda* in the *sūtra*—*Vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* and it has its *apavāda* in *Nēṭi*.

1. This means that which is enjoined to the vowel of the *aṅga* that ends in a consonant by the *sūtra*—*Vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ*.

अस्ति पुनः कचिदन्यत्रापि अपवादे प्रतिषिद्धे उत्सर्गोऽपि न भवति?

Is there another place where the general rule does not operate when there is an exception to the exception?

अस्तीत्याह ; सुजाते अश्वसूनुते, अध्वर्यो अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते अन्यत् इति ; पूर्वरूपे प्रतिषिद्धे अयादयोऽपि न भवन्ति

Yes, says he. *Ex. Sujātē aśvasūnrtē, adhvaryō adribhiḥ sutam, śukram tē anyat*; here though *pūrvārūpa* is prohibited, the *ādēśas ay* etc. have not replaced *ē* etc.

उत्तरार्थमेव तर्हि सिजर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषणोच्यते, सा विडति मा भूत्, न्यनुवीत् न्यधुवीत्

If so, let the use of the word *vrddhi* be intended for the next *sūtra* to prohibit *vrddhi* enjoined by *Sici vrddhiḥ*: ... *Vrddhi* before *sic* is enjoined in general and let it not operate when it is followed by *kit* or *iit* to secure *nyanuvīt* and *nyadhuvīt*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्, अन्तरङ्गत्वादत्र उवडादेशे कृते अनन्त्यत्वाद् वृद्धिर्न भविष्यति

No, this is not the purpose to be served; for, after *uvāṇādēśa* which first operates by *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā*, there is no occasion for *vrddhi*, since the vowel is not the final element of the *aṅga*.

यदि तर्हि सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवति, अकार्षीत् अहार्षीत्, गुणे कृते रपरत्वे चानन्त्यत्वाद् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति

If, then, *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* prevails in *sicivṛddhi*, the words *akārṣīt* and *ahārṣīt* cannot be formed since the final element of the *aṅga* is not a vowel after the operation of the *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and *raparatva*.

मा भूदेवम् ; हलन्त्यस्य . . . इत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be in that manner; the *sūtra*—*Halantasya*...operates (and the desired form is obtained).

इह तर्हि न्यस्तारीत् न्यदारीत्, गुणे कृते रपरत्वे चानन्त्यत्वाद्वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति । हलन्तलक्षणायाश्च नेटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Then in the words *nystārīt*, *nyadārīt*, *vrddhi* cannot come in after the *sūtras* enjoining the *guṇa* and *raparatva* operate, since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra* '*Vadavrajahalantasya ...*' cannot operate since it is prohibited by the *sūtra* '*Nēti*'.

मा भूदेवम्, लान्तस्य इत्येवं भविष्यति

This cannot be, for it will by appear the *sūtra*—*Atō lrāntasya*.

इह तर्हि अलावीत् अपावीत्, गुणे कृतेऽवादेशे चानन्त्यत्वात् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति । हलन्तलक्षणायाश्च नेति इति प्रतिषेधः

Then in the words *alāvīt*, *apāvīt*, *vrddhi* cannot come in after the *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and *avādēśa* operate, since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra*—*Vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* is prohibited from operating by the *sūtra*—*Nēti*.

मा भूदेवम्, लान्तस्य इत्येवं भविष्यति

This cannot be for it will appear by the *sūtra*—*Atō lrāntasya*.

लान्तस्य इत्युच्यते, न चेदं लान्तम्

It is said when the final is *l* or *r*, and this is not having *l* or *r* as its final.

लान्तस्य इत्यत्र वकारोऽपि निर्दिश्यते *V* also is mentioned in *lrānta*.

किं वकारो न श्रूयते? Why is not *v* heard?

लुप्तनिर्दिष्टो वकारः *Vakāra* has been dropped.

यद्येवं मा भवानवीत् मा भवान् मवीत्, अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If so, *vrddhi* might come in *mā bhavān avīt* and *mā bhavān mavīt*.

अविमव्योर्नेति वक्ष्यामि

I shall read that it does not come in the case of *avi* and *mavi*.

तद्वक्तव्यम् It should be read.

न वक्तव्यम्, णिश्चिभ्यां तौ निमातव्यौ

No, it need not be read; they should be exchanged by *ni* and *svi*

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथैवैतर्हि णिश्च्योः प्रतिषेधो न वक्तव्यो भवति. गुणे कृतेऽवादेशे च यान्तानां नेत्येव प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति

Though this is said so, there is no need for the mention of *ni* and *śvi* in the *sūtra* '*Hmyantakṣaṇaśvasajāgrṇiśvyēditām*'; for, after they take *guṇa* and *ayādēśa*, they are prohibited from taking *vrddhi* since they end in *y*.

एवं तर्ह्यचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवति इति, यदयं अतो हलादेर्लघोः इत्यकारग्रहणं करोति

The *vyavahāra* of *Ācārya* suggests that the *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* does not operate in the application of the *sūtra* '*Sici vrddhiḥ parasmāipadēṣu*.'

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

How is it to be interpreted to make it a *jñāpaka*?

अकारग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्, इह मा भूत् अकोषीत् अमोषीत्; यदि सिच्यन्तरङ्गं स्याद् अकारग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृतेऽलघुत्वाद्वृद्धिर्न भविष्यति, पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवतीति, ततोऽकारग्रहणं करोति

The mention of *akāra* has this use that it may not happen in *akōṣīt*, *amōṣīt*; if *antaraṅgaśāstra* prevails in *sici vrddhiḥ*, the use of *akāra* will be of no use since there is no short penultimate after *guṇa* appears. Hence seeing that *antaraṅgaśāstra* does not prevail there, he reads *akāra*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*, for there is a purpose in having read it.

किम्? What?

यत्र गुणः प्रतिषिद्धयते तदर्थमेतत्स्यात् न्यकुटीत् न्यपुटीत् इति

Where *guṇa* is prohibited, it is used there to prohibit *vrddhi* in *nyakuṭīt* and *nyapuṭīt*.

यत्तर्हि निशब्दोः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तेन नेहान्तरङ्गमस्ति इति दर्शयति

Then since prohibition is enjoined for *ni* and *śvi*, *Ācārya* suggests that *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* does not prevail here.

यच्च करोत्यकारग्रहणं लघोरिति कृतेऽपि

And since *akāra* is read even though there is the word *lagōḥ*.

तस्मादिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः

Therefore *vrddhi* should be enjoined to *ik*.

VIII

¹ षष्ठ्याः स्थानेयोगत्वादिङ्निवृत्तिः

Genitive being supplemented by *sthānē*, all *iks* will disappear.

षष्ठ्याः स्थानेयोगत्वात् सर्वेषामिकां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति । अस्यापि प्राप्नोति दधि मधु

Since the genitive (whose meaning is not defined) is supplemented by the word *sthānē*, all *iks* will disappear. The *ik* of *dadhi* and *madhu* will also disappear.

पुनर्वचनमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् ? What for, then, is the repetition ?²

अन्यतरार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

The repetition is to choose one of the two.

अन्यतरार्थमेतत्स्यात् — सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुण एव इति

This is to choose either of the two *viz.* *guṇa* alone in the operation of the *sūtra*—*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*.

³ प्रसारणे च

In the case of the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa*.

प्रसारणे च सर्वेषां यणां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति, अस्यापि प्राप्नोति याता वाता

When the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa* operates, all *yans* will disappear. The *y* and *v* in *yātā* and *vātā* also will disappear.

पुनर्वचनमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् ? What for is, then, the repetition ?

विषयार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

Repetition is to decide the circumstances.

1. The *pūrvapakṣa* says that this is a *vidhāyakasūtra* and the *siddhānta* is that it is a *paribhāṣā*.

2. As in *Midēr guṇaḥ*.

3. This takes place when *yanaḥ* in *Ig yanaḥ samprasāraṇam* is taken to be a *sthānaśaṣṭhi*, which is always the case.

विषयार्थमेतत्स्यात् वचिस्वपियजादीनां कित्येवेति

This is to decide the circumstances (i. e.) *samprasāraṇa* takes place to *vac*, *svap*, *yaḥ* etc. only when they are followed by *kit*.

उरण् रपरे च In the *sūtra* ' *Uraṇ raparah* ' also.

उरण् रपरे च सर्वेषामृकारणां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति, अस्यापि प्राप्नोति — कर्तृ हर्तृ

In the application of the *sūtra*, all *rkāras* will disappear; it will disappear in the words *kartr* and *hartr* also.

सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनात्

The end is achieved by reading it after *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā*.

सिद्धमेतत्; कथम्? This is achieved. How?

षष्ठ्यधिकारे इमे योगाः कर्तव्याः । एकस्तावत् क्रियते तत्रैव, इमावपि योगौ षष्ठ्यधिकारमनुवर्तिष्येते

These *sūtras* have to be read after *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā*. One—*Uraṇ-raparah* is read there and the other two are taken there.

अथवा षष्ठ्यधिकारे इमौ अपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or we require them in *ṣaṣṭhyadhikāra*.

अथवेदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणो भवति इति इह कस्मान्न भवति याता वाता ?

Or he should first be put this question why *guṇa* does not take place in *yātā* and *vātā* by ' *Sārvadhātukārdha-dhātukayōḥ* '.

इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते इको गुणवृद्धी इति

This *sūtra* ' *Ikō guṇavṛddhī* ' is read along with it.

यथैव तर्हि इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते एवमिहापि तदपेक्षिष्यामहे सार्वधातु-
कार्धधातुकयोः इति

As it is read with it there, so also it is read with *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* in interpreting its meaning.

Hence it must be noted that *Prasāraṇē ca* and *Uraṇ raparē ca* have been mentioned as parallel cases. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* first pointed out the difficulties met with, if this *sūtra* is taken a

vidhisūtra and finally suggested three ways to avert the difficulties, of which the last is the best, where he takes the *sūtra* only as a *paribhāṣā*.

इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिविरचिते व्याकरणमहाभाष्ये प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे

वृद्ध्याहिकं नाम तृतीयमाहिकम्

Vrddhyāhnika ends.

कौशिकान्वयजस्सुनुर्मङ्गलास्वामिनाथयोः ।
 नीलकण्ठयतेश्छात्रः शब्दशास्त्रात्मशास्त्रयोः ॥
 श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिविदुषः न्यायालङ्कारशास्त्रयोः ।
 श्रीचित्रस्वामिविदुषः जैमिनीये नये तथा ॥
 द्राविडीलक्षणे लक्ष्ये भाषाशास्त्रे विमर्शकः ।
 पित्रङ्गुडिस्वामिजनः सुब्रह्मण्याभिधो द्विजः ॥
 श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटीपीठमधिष्ठाय विलसतां यमिनाम् ।
 श्रीचन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रसरस्वती नाम पावनं दधताम् ॥
 आज्ञारूपानुग्रहेण षष्ठेः पूर्तेरनन्तरम् ।
 अकरोदाङ्गलभारत्या महाभाष्यविमर्शनम् ॥ *



* विजयनामसंवत्सरे सिंहमासि शुक्लपक्षे विनायकचतुर्थ्याम् इदं विमर्शनं अ अ सूत्रान्तं सम्पूर्णम् (12—9—1953)

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